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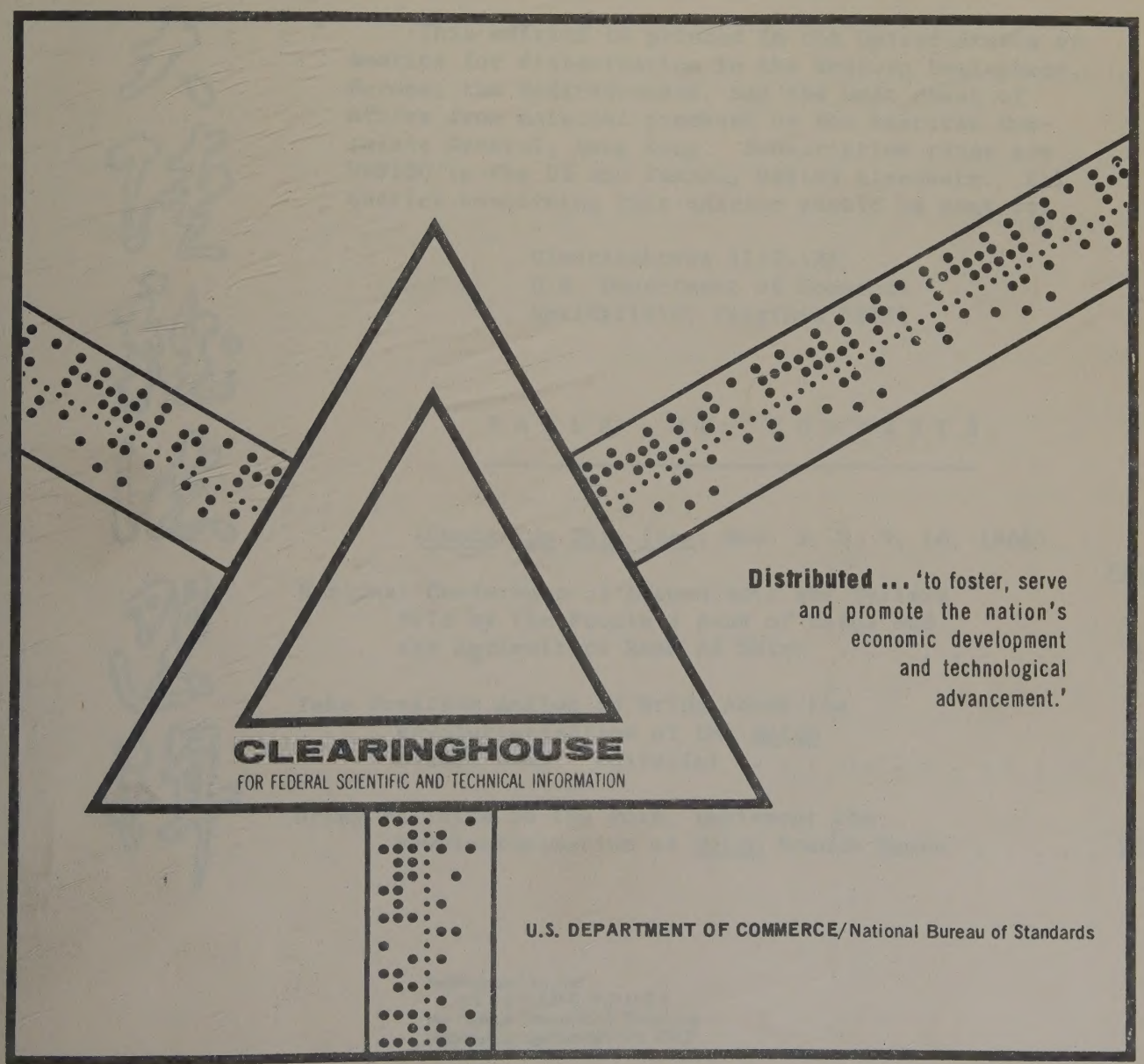
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Unless otherwise indicated, these materials are full translations of articles appearing in Chinese Communist periodicals.

National Conference of Accountants and Tellers Held by the People's Bank of China and the Agriculture Bank of China

(Chung-kuo Chin-jung [China Finance], No. 3, February 9, 1966)

The head offices of the People's Bank and the Agriculture Bank held in Tientsin between December 22, 1965 and January 13, 1966 a national conference of their accountants and tellers with a view to implementing the decision reached by the two banks at their December 1965 national conference of branch managers. Present at the conference were accountants and tellers from the banks' branches in various provinces, autonomous regions, municipalities under the direct jurisdiction of the Central Government, and seven major cities, and representatives of some of their basic-level offices. Vice President Ch'iao P'ei-hsin (乔培新) of the banks' head offices attended the conference and made a report. The conference centered its discussion on how to bring politics to the fore, work out concrete measures for realizing the four-first's, and revolutionize the thinking, style, work and regulations. Through study of the quotations from Chairman Mao the conference introduced and exchanged advanced experiences, discussed Vice President Ch'iao's report, and brought to light and criticized the purely professional viewpoint. The understanding of all was raised, the bearings were found, and methods were devised. This will serve to promote the revolutionization of the work of all accountants and tellers.

The conference points out that, like the fraternal departments within the banks, the departments of accountants and tellers under the leadership of the Party organizations and administrations at various levels, succeeded in raising their politico-ideological level and improving their professional work over the past years. During 1965 in particular, they conscientiously implemented the decision of the February national conference on political work in finance and trade, brought politics to the fore, took concrete measures for the four first's, studied Chairman Mao's writings in a big way and learned from the PLA in a big way. As a result of this conference and the deep-going development of the socialist education movement, the accountants and tellers markedly changed their mental outlook and work outlook. Inspired by leading cadres, more and more of them used Mao Tsetung thought to remold themselves and improve their work. They were more conscious of the need to serve the class struggle, production and the masses. Their service attitude improved and their style in work changed. The rules and regulations governing the work of accountants and tellers underwent some reform, and their work improved in quality and efficiency, and began to show greater flexibility. They played an active part in supporting agricultural production and taking care of needs of the masses. All this shows that the work of accountants and tellers has taken a big step forward in the direction of revolutionization.

However, this is only a good beginning and is still behind the need arising from development of the situation. Only a small number of accountants and tellers' departments place political work in the leading position, and a purely professional viewpoint and self-complacency are still

widespread. The "one policy, two objects of services, three major viewpoints, and four action" slogan has not yet been implemented in the work. The existing accounting system is still not such as to completely embody Party guiding principle and policy and fit in with the actual conditions in our country. Apart from this, questions like poor quality of work, low efficiency, improper arrangement for labor and rest, and lack of guarantee for study hours remain to be settled.

These questions are mainly due to the following reasons: Living study and application of Chairman Mao's writings is inadequate. Some comrades are not firm in their revolutionary view of life, their method of thinking is one-sided, and their style of leadership is not deep-going enough. All these shortcomings should be seriously remedied in our future work.

With a view to implementing the decision of the national conference of branch managers held last December and carrying out the assignments of the whole banks, the conference called for the following: The accountants and tellers must bring politics to the fore in their work and strive to revolutionize their thinking, style, work and systems. They should make up their minds to defy hardship and death, to keep accounts and to check the bills in the interests of revolution. They should work out a set of basic regulations, simple and applicable. Suited to the realities in our country, they must embody the Party's line, guiding principle and policy and meet the current demand and the needs of economic development. They should go into the thick of reality and among the units to strengthen the basic-level work. They should see to it that their work is flexible but orderly and is accurate and fast, that their books and money are safeguarded, and that a better service is rendered to class struggle, production-construction and the masses of the people.

Bring Politics to the Fore, Promote Revolutionization of Thinking and Work

The conference holds that the contradiction between political prominence and a purely professional viewpoint remains the main contradiction in the current work of accountants and tellers. It represents a struggle between the two ideologies and two roads. Long-term, persistent efforts will have to be exerted in order to resolve this contradiction correctly. To this end, from now on the accountants and tellers must firmly bring politics to the fore, take concrete measures for the four first's, thoroughly repudiate the purely professional viewpoint and the tendencies toward becoming self-complacent, coming to terms with the present, and neglecting politics. They must resolutely place political work in the leading position of all work.

First, it will be necessary to study and apply Chairman Mao's writings in creative ways, grasp the living thought and promote revolutionization of the accountants and tellers' thinking. Leading cadres must take the lead in studying Chairman Mao's writings and help the broad masses of

the workers lay emphasis on "application." Mao Tsetung thought should be used for the ideological remolding of accountants and tellers and to solve the realistic problems of thought. Cadres should be taught to make up their minds to keep accounts, check bills and master the basic skills in the interests of revolution and to see that "physically standing before the counter, they have the whole nation in mind and take a broad view of the world." The accountants and tellers should be trained to be ranks politically red and professionally proficient, so proletarianized and militant that they will be easy to lead and are unbeatable.

Second, it is necessary to persist in class struggle and two-road struggle as the key links and to serve the class struggle actively. Political vigilance should be sharpened and the capitalist activity resolutely combated. In line with the socialist education movement, the old accounts should be checked and the routine verification of the accounts with other units carried out. In the process of handling the routine business, care should be taken to examine it from the angles of politics and policy; upon discovery of law-breaching acts such as corruption and embezzlement, the matter should be promptly referred to the department concerned for action.

The class line should be carried out in agricultural loan accounting. "Verification of State-aid agricultural funds" or other methods may be adopted to insure supervision by the poor and lower-middle peasants. Whatever the method adopted, the poor and lower-middle peasants must be consulted in the first instance and commandism guarded against.

Third, it is essential to resolutely implement "one policy, two objects of service, three major viewpoints and four action" slogans and actively serve production and the masses. The conference calls on all accountants and tellers to imbibe the spirit of this guiding principle and slogan and creatively and correctly apply them.

The work of accountants and tellers should show flexibility and orderliness. "Flexibility" means flexibly dealing with problems according to Party line, guiding principle and policy and in the light of actual conditions. "Orderliness" means "not violating the guiding principle and policy, not upsetting the unified plan, and not doing things to the prejudice of the State property." "Flexibility" means socialist "flexibility." The "flexibility" will result in bringing politics to the fore, facilitating the class struggle and serving industrial-agricultural production and the livelihood of the masses.

Flexibility of work does not mean that regulations can be dispensed with. Correct regulations are the concrete expression of policy and are the vehicle of policy. They are also the necessary means to insure normal progress of various kinds of work. However, regulations cannot take the place of policy and even correct regulations are applicable only to the circumstances in general and not to all circumstances. Therefore, the regulations should be carried out according to principle and with flexibility, and flexibility may not be stressed at the expense of principle.

Guiding principle and policy must be adhered to but certain concrete methods may be flexibly adopted according to actual conditions, so that the principle can be implemented better. When certain regulations and provisions come into conflict with Party's guiding principle and policy, things should be done according to the principle and policy.

To insure flexibility of work, it will also be necessary to go into the thick of reality and come into contact with the masses. The accountants and tellers of various banks and offices should organize their internal work properly, go to the enterprises and commune teams voluntarily, systematically and selectively to solicit their opinions, to test life, to investigate and study conditions, to conduct propaganda, to help and learn from each other, to study the relevant problems together and to raise their work level.

Further, it will be necessary to improve the quality of work and raise the work efficiency in order to strengthen service. The conference calls upon all accountants and tellers to promote high-quality and high-standard management of documents, account forms, reports, banknote bundles and treasury and standardization of written figures, to insure both quality and speed in work and to seek refinement in what they do. Technical innovation should be started to make full use of and constantly improve the existing machines and instruments on the one hand and to arouse the masses to devise economical and practical new machines and tools in guided, planned and organized ways on the other.

The conference emphatically points out that American imperialism is ceaselessly expanding its war of aggression in Vietnam and that the whole body of accountants and tellers must sharpen their vigilance and overcome the idea that the situation is peaceful. They should stick to their posts and make a good job of their work under all circumstances.

Pay Attention to the Countryside, Energetically Support Agricultural Production

The conference points out that the accountants and tellers in their work must pay attention to the countryside, serve the building of socialist new countryside and serve the five hundred million peasants. The accountants and tellers' departments of provincial (autonomous district) branches, central sub-branches, hsien sub-branches and business offices should place aid for agriculture in the leading position of their business. The banks at various levels should enthusiastically carry on aid-agriculture business as early and as soon as possible.

Hsien sub-branches should make good job of accountant and teller's work, using 90 percent of their resources to aid the countryside. The first-line cadres should be reinforced and cadres ideologically good and professionally proficient should be assigned as accountants and tellers of the business offices in the rural districts. Full-time inspectors and supervisors should be appointed and effective measures taken to step up the inspection of and help to the accountant and teller's work in rural business offices.

The rules and regulations of rural business offices should be reformed and their business hours changed in such a way as to facilitate agricultural production and convenience the masses. Accountants, tellers, agricultural fund tellers and credit loan tellers should help one another, learn from one another, work in close cooperation and make a good job of their work.

Credit cooperatives are able subsidiaries to the bank in the rural districts. The accountant and teller's department should enthusiastically assist the credit cooperative department in helping the credit cooperatives (stations) in their work. It should help to institute simple and applicable fiscal and accounting systems which can facilitate supervision by poor and lower-middle peasants, and see to it that the fiscal affairs are managed in democratic ways and account entries are accurately made. It should help the accountants and tellers of the credit cooperatives (stations) make improvement politically, professionally and technically.

Settle the accounts properly between town and country. To settle the accounts with the commune teams which have sold their farm produce and by-products, the bank should assist the enterprises concerned in making prompt payment; cash payment is to be made or account transfer is to be effected as the case may be; the bank should let the commune teams receive as early as possible the cash transferred to them. The accounts with the commune teams who have bought means of subsistence should be settled in the right time and through simplified procedures. Aid-agriculture allocations should be handled promptly, correctly and satisfactorily.

Commune teams' bank deposits, loans to the commune teams and receipt and payment of interest must be conscientiously checked to insure against errors.

Actively Support the Enterprises in Increasing Production and Practicing Economy, and Run the Banks by Industry and Thrift

The conference calls upon all bank accountants and tellers to conduct study, raise their understanding and throw themselves into the production-increase and economy movement which is spreading all over the country this year. They are called upon to make a good job of account settlement, improve the internal work, and urge the enterprises to accelerate turn-round of funds and economize the use of funds.

At the same time, efforts should be made to cut down the bank expenses and to do more things well with less money. It will be necessary to implement the principle of retrenchment, improve the labor organization, simplify the complex procedures, eliminate ineffective labor and save manpower and material resources. It will be necessary to manage capital construction, property and expenses.

To insure economy in the true sense of the word, it will be necessary to arouse the masses to manage the fiscal affairs in democratic ways. It will be necessary to encourage self-reliance. If so, expenses can be cut down and cadres can be made to remold their thought and extend the fine tradition of hard life and frugality. Practicing rigid economy and combating waste is not merely an economic problem; it is also a problem of struggle between the socialist and capitalist roads. Great importance must be attached to it.

Energetically Reform Rules and Regulations and Revolutionize the Regulations

The conference holds that while the bank regulations governing the work of accountants and tellers have been reformed with definite success over the past years, some regulations are still divorced from politics, reality and the masses. It will be necessary to carry on the reform.

The reform will call for a revolutionary spirit of thinking and acting with daring and a scientific attitude of respecting truth. It is wrong to fear this and that, to come to terms with the present, and to refrain from touching the irrational regulations; it is not right to deny the role of regulations and rashly "abolish" and "eliminate" regulations without regard to work requirements. In order to reform the rules and regulations it will be necessary to set the masses into motion and for a three-in-one combination of the leaders, the masses and the professional personnel; it will be necessary, first of all, to make investigation and study in conjunction with the departments concerned and to establish new ones before abolishing the old ones, and to reform the rules and regulations correctly one by one. As for the reform of important regulations, experiments should be carried out and experience acquired before popularizing the reform. It will be necessary to draw up plans and organize forces to carry out this work. The rule of "whoever draws it up approves it" should be observed in reforming the regulations.

The conference calls upon the whole body of accountants and tellers to take an active part in the "compare, learn, catch up and help" movement, and gradually build themselves into politically red and professionally proficient ranks able to pass hard tests in political thinking, style of work and technique.

This year is the first year of China's great third five-year plan, and the entire national economy has entered on a period of new development. In such an excellent situation, we must closely keep pace with it and advance with big strides. The conference urges the whole body of accountants and tellers to respond to the call of the national conference of branch managers, hold aloft the great red banner of Mao Tsetung thought, work hard, rise in great vigor, run the banks in the interest of revolution and in revolutionary ways, and strive to build the banks into revolutionized banks.

* * *

Take Positive Action To Bring About the Revolutionization of the Hsien Branch Bank

- Chung-kuo Chin-jung editorial -

(Chung-kuo Chin-jung [China Finance], No. 8, April 24, 1966)

Recently, on the basis of examining, appraising, comparing and summing up work in 1965, the T'unghsien Branch Bank, Peking Municipality, convened a hsien-wide conference of cadres--cadres of offices and credit cooperatives and commune bookkeepers--which was also attended by the representatives of the appraised and selected "five-good" units and the "six-good" workers. This was a mobilization meeting for operating revolutionized banks. The living ideas solved at this meeting and some questions advanced by them on how to realize revolutionization were all of general significance.

Is it necessary to operate a revolutionized bank? This is an ideological question which must first be solved. Some people say: Since our bank is a socialist bank and a socialist bank is one that serves the people and is a revolutionary bank, why then is it necessary to talk about operating a revolutionized bank? It is undeniable that our bank is a socialist bank as well as a revolutionary bank. Under the leadership of the Party in the past, our bank at various levels has really done much work and played a positive role in the socialist revolution and the cause of building socialism. However, the fact that a socialist bank is by nature a revolutionary bank is not equal to say that everybody of our banking ranks is capable of consciously operating his bank for the revolution and with the revolutionary spirit. This is because there are still classes and class struggle in the socialist society, and the class struggle in society necessarily will be reflected among the banking ranks and even within the Party organization of the bank. Therefore, there is still the question of the struggle between the two roads in the thought and work style of the bank cadres, in the various kinds of bank work and in rules and regulations.

Should we take our own road and operate a proletarian socialist bank according to Mao Tsetung thought and the lines and general and specific policies of the Party? Or should we copy and adopt the capitalist and revisionist stuff? This is a question of political orientation of a fundamental nature. Only by bringing politics to the fore, arming the heads of broad masses of the workers and cadres of the bank with Mao Tsetung thought, building an extremely proletarianized and extremely militant financial force and operating a revolutionized bank can we shun revisionism, guard against capitalist restoration and insure our advance in the socialist direction. Therefore, the operating of a revolutionized bank is not a question of whether such a bank should be operated since revolutionization must be realized as demanded by the revolutionary situation.

To operate a revolutionized bank, the most important thing is to operate a revolutionized hsien branch bank. This is because the hsien branch bank is the front command of banking and all general and specific policies of the Party must be concretely implemented and organically carried out through the hsien branch bank. Only by realizing the revolutionization of the hsien branch bank can the revolutionization of the whole bank be gradually realized.

To realize the revolutionization of the hsien branch bank, the most fundamental thing is to put Mao Tsetung thought in command of everything.

Mao Tsetung thought is Marxism-Leninism that has been completely and systematically developed in the new great revolutionary era, the culmination of contemporary Marxism-Leninism, the highest guideline for us to carry out the socialist revolution and socialist construction, the strong ideological weapon of the revolutionary struggle of the people of the world. Only those people armed with Mao Tsetung thought can bring the greatest fighting power into play, and only by putting Mao Tsetung thought in command can we guard against losing our bearings. We emphasize the putting of Mao Tsetung thought in command of everything, and the most fundamental thing is to transform our world outlook with Mao Tsetung thought, foster proletarian ideology and liquidate bourgeois ideology so that all workers and cadres will act like Chiao Yü-lu, Wang Chieh, Li Fang-chou and other comrades, work neither for fame nor for gain, fear neither hardship nor death, bend their minds on the revolution, and establish the thought of completely and thoroughly serving the Chinese people and the people of the world.

To realize the revolutionization of the hsien branch bank, it is necessary to implement conscientiously one policy, two kinds of service and three great viewpoints. It is necessary to establish the thought of directing 90 percent of the strength toward the countryside. Within the confines of a hsien, the development of agricultural production is the central task of the Party committee. We must closely rally to the central task of the Party and look for our own posts. In work, we must help the production teams and the masses of commune members--especially the poor and lower-middle peasants--develop production and arrange their livelihood according to the demands of the political work team, the mass work team and the economic work team. We must make intensive propaganda of reliance on Tachai in agriculture, of reliance on the Party and of reliance on the enthusiasm of the 500 million peasants, and lead the peasants to take the road of self-reliance.

To realize the revolutionization of the hsien branch bank, it is necessary to persist in taking the mass line and relying on the masses to operate the bank in a planned and methodical manner. Chairman Mao says: "We have always maintained that the revolution must rely on the masses of the people, on everybody's taking a hand, and oppose relying merely on a few persons issuing orders." The work of the people's bank is also an important item of revolutionary work, and furthermore, it is closely related with the production and livelihood of the broad masses of workers

and peasants. Therefore, in order to operate well the people's bank, it is necessary to rely on the masses of the people and everybody taking a hand as taught by Chairman Mao. In industrial and commercial enterprises, it is necessary to rely on those who expend money to control money, and to expend and control well the working capital. In the countryside, it is necessary to rely on the broad masses of credit cooperative cadres and the bookkeepers of people's communes, production brigades and production teams. In the city, it is necessary to rely on the mutual-aid savings organizations of the broad masses of workers and inhabitants themselves and the neighborhood credit cooperatives already organized. A powerful financial force can thus be organized among the masses to provide banking work with a broad and solid mass foundation, and banking work can achieve greater, faster, better and more economical results and win the support of the masses.

To realize the revolutionization of the hsien branch bank, it is necessary to realize the revolutionization of the leading core. The leading core is the militant headquarters guiding the work of the whole bank. All work of the hsien branch bank must be centrally led, organized and carried out through the leading core of the hsien branch bank. Therefore, the realization of the revolutionization of the leading core of the hsien branch holds the key to realizing the revolutionization of the hsien branch bank. At present, there is the phenomenon of the ideology lagging behind the situation and the leadership lagging behind the masses in some places. This is one important factor that hampers the realization of the revolutionization of the bank. In view of this, it is necessary to mobilize the masses to adopt the viewpoint of one dividing into two, sum up experiences, affirm achievements, expose shortcomings, and use the high criterion of revolutionization to look for disparity and make uninterrupted advance.

To realize the revolutionization of the leading core, the most fundamental question is that the leading cadres must take the lead in studying well Chairman Mao's works, bring politics to the fore, head all work with political and ideological work, energetically grasp living ideas on a large scale, strengthen the leadership of the Party, implement and carry out democratic centralism, bring democracy into play, firmly cling to the mass line, and mobilize the activism of the working masses. The leading cadres must at all times and in all places play the exemplary and leading role, and teach by words and deeds. Teaching by deeds is the silent order, the most authoritative order. So long as there is a revolutionized leadership, it is possible to lead the masses to advance along the road of revolutionization and to realize the revolutionization of the hsien branch bank.

It is hoped that the comrades of banks and credit cooperatives in all places will act energetically and advance steadily along the road to realizing the revolutionization of banks and credit cooperatives in the whole hsien.

* * *

Bring Politics to the Fore, Implement the Revolutionization of Hsien Branch Banks

(Chung-kuo Chin-jung [China Finance], No. 8, April 24, 1966)

Editor's Note:

Hsien bank branches (including city offices) are the frontline command posts of banking, and all general and specific policies of the Party must be implemented and organized for execution through them. At the same time, the overwhelming majority of bank workers and cadres are with the hsien bank branches. Consequently, the question of the revolutionization of hsien bank branches constitutes a decisive link in the revolutionization of the whole bank. At present, quite a number of hsien bank branches have taken a big stride forward along the road of revolutionization. They also have accumulated considerable good experiences which ought to be summed up in real earnest for popularization. In some cases, however, the stride taken is not big enough to cope with the development of the revolutionary situation. In order to solve this question, the magazine is starting from the current issue a special column to make a broad discussion of the question of how to implement the revolutionization of hsien bank branches. We hope that comrades of various hsien bank branches--especially the leading comrades--will act at once by energetically participating in this discussion and putting forward their understanding, intention, experience and realization respecting how a revolutionized bank should be operated so as to raise thinking, unify understanding and attain the object of revolutionizing the hsien bank branches.

*

Bring Politics to the Fore and Fight for Implementing the Revolutionization of Hsien Bank Branches in Response to the Call of the National Conference of Heads of Hsien Bank Branches

- Conference convened by the T'unghsien Bank Branch in discussion of the question of how to implement the revolutionization of banks and credit cooperatives

(Our Own Correspondent) In response to the call of the National Conference of Heads of Bank Branches for holding high the great red banner of Mao Tsetung thought, operating the bank for the revolution with the revolutionary spirit and fighting for operating a revolutionized bank, the T'unghsien Branch of the People's Bank of China, on the basis of checking, appraising and comparing, and summing up political work on a large scale,

convened on March 24 through 31 a conference for conducting appraisal, comparison, and for summing up and exchanging experiences. This meeting was attended by the representatives of the "five-good" units of the financial system of the whole hsien, the "six-good" workers, the responsible persons of bank offices and credit cooperatives, and the bookkeepers of communes. The responsible comrades of various suburban hsien branches and offices of Peking municipality were also present at the meeting. This meeting summed up and examined political and ideological work, exchanged experiences, and studied how the financial system of the whole hsien planned to implement revolutionization. During the session, Comrade Chang Yü-sheng (張育生), Head of the Peking Municipal Bank Branch and Comrade Chen Ch'ing-pin (甄清斌), Deputy Magistrate of T'unghsien, came to the meeting to give instructions, and Comrade Hu Ching-yün (胡景澐), Vice President of the People's Bank of China, also came to the meeting to deliver an important speech. From beginning to end, the meeting insisted on bringing politics to the fore, energetically grasping living ideas and solving all realistic ideological problems with Mao Tsetung thought. Consequently, the meeting was full of vigor, and it powerfully inspired the revolutionary spirit of the comrades.

Bring Politics to the Fore, Grasp Living Ideas in a Big Way

At the beginning of the meeting, there were all kinds of living ideas among some workers and cadres. They mainly came under three categories.

Those under the first category had no urgent demand for and clearcut understanding of the operation of a revolutionized bank. Some comrades thought that since our bank was a socialist bank in the service of the people, it was a revolutionary bank, and there was no need to talk about operating a revolutionized bank. Some comrades were arrogant and complacent. They were satisfied with the status quo, lacked the spirit of uninterrupted revolution, and held that there was nothing to revolutionize.

Those under the second category had inadequate confidence in the operation of a revolutionized bank. Some comrades said that the leadership of the bank branch looked for disparity in the same old things year after year but they did not bring politics to the fore. When some comrades wanted to discuss ideology with the leadership of the bank branch, they must "make appointment and wait for their turn," and they had no idea when the discussion could be carried out. The masses said in reflection: "Living ideas delivered to the door are not grasped. The leadership just give lip service to revolutionization but never translate it into action." Some comrades said that the leading comrades had clamored for a long time for going to the lower level to stay at a selected spot, but they never went there. They always made self-criticism, but never rectified themselves.

Those under the third category urgently wanted to operate a revolutionized bank but they did not know what road to follow. Quite a number of comrades felt that although the numerous advanced experiences recommended

were good, yet they had no idea which were the main ones that should be studied.

These living ideas showed that there was the question of method as well as the question of ideological understanding in the operation of a revolutionized bank, but the question of ideological understanding must first be solved. Only by raising understanding and sweeping away all kinds of ideological obstacles could we fully arouse the political consciousness and revolutionary enthusiasm of the broad masses of workers.

Carry Out the Rectification Campaign with the Door Open - Arouse the Masses

After conscientiously studying the above ideological problems, the leadership of the hsien bank branch held that the cause lay not with the masses but mainly with the leadership. Apparently, the leadership must first be revolutionized in order to provide the breach for revolutionizing the bank. Consequently, they adopted the method of "carrying out the rectification campaign with the door open," and the masses were aroused to carry out criticism and self-criticism from bottom to top.

To enable the masses to bare their minds and speak freely, the leadership of the branch bank first examined in real earnest the thought and work style of the leadership. At the same time, the workers were also organized to study intensively the relevant articles among Chairman Mao's works. Everybody was urged to speak their minds free from misgivings. Because the leadership took the lead in revolutionizing itself, everybody was moved, and an example was set for the comrades of bank offices and credit cooperatives to carry out criticism and self-criticism. Someone said: "I came originally to the meeting for deposit tasks and loan targets. Now I understand that this is a meeting for bringing politics to the fore. It looks that the leadership has made up its mind to promote revolutionization, and we certainly must closely follow it."

Acknowledge What Is Backward, Be Reluctant To Stay Backward

For the purpose of leading everybody to have a correct understanding of his present state of affairs, establish revolutionary high criteria and lay down the ideological foundation for revolutionization, in the course of mobilizing the masses to help the leadership carry out ideological revolutionization, the meeting also organized, at different stages and in accordance with different kinds of reflection, all people to study over and over again Chairman Mao's discourses on serving the people, revolutionary heroism, criticism and self-criticism, ideological cultivation, way of thinking, and work methods. The meeting heard the report of the hsien committee concerning the current situation and recommended the model deeds of eleven advanced characters of the locality and four of other places so as to enable everybody to heighten his understanding, examine himself by making a comparison with them, and find out in real earnest the difference. Many comrades said in

self-examination: Ours is a socialist bank, but this is not equal to say that our bank has been revolutionized. Seen in the light of the development of the situation and the demand of the Party, it is still far away from having been revolutionized. In the course of examining the past erroneous attitude toward advanced experiences by "refusing credence to those far away and feeling ill-affected toward those close by," some comrades declared: Arrogance, complacency and resting content with the present state of affairs have truly made us backward. We are now convinced.

After going deeper to look for difference and to analyze the cause of backwardness, all were unanimously of this view: The deeds of the advanced units and the advanced persons have their special character as well as common character. The special character is that the advanced deeds have each its strong point and merit, and the common character is that all conscientiously study Chairman Mao's books, heed what he says, and honestly do things according to his instructions. Some comrades declared: There are many things in which we are different from others, but the fundamental one is that we fail to learn well and apply creatively Chairman Mao's books and to put Mao Tsetung thought in command. Consequently, we do not bring politics to the fore at ordinary times, and politics is "stormed" on a temporary basis. The shock attack lasts a while when the Party committee and the higher level exercise a tighter grip, but at ordinary times, we still give first consideration to work, "see only things but not the people," "grasp only figures but not living ideas," "are unable to do anything without money" and just make circular movement among money. As a result, some units have made mistakes by granting or recalling loan in a reckless manner without considering the actual need of the masses, and the phenomena of merely going after the safety of capital, granting loans to the rich but not the poor, and shunning the poor and lower-middle peasants in difficulty have appeared. All this is a question bearing on the struggle between two kinds of life philosophy, between the two roads. Few people gave a deep thought to the matter in the past, much less tried to solve it in good time.

After the masses were mobilized to look for differences in breadth and depth, all declared: Obviously we are backward, but we are reluctant to stay backward. We certainly must learn from the advanced units, rise to give pursuit, overtake and surpass the advanced.

By way of discussion, whether or not revolutionization was wanted had basically been solved. However, how to implement revolutionization was still a question of concern to everybody that urgently called for solution at the latter stage of the meeting. To solve the question, they still adopted the method of organizing everybody to study Chairman Mao's works with problems in mind to heighten understanding. Meanwhile, the study of the advanced experiences of the locality was integrated with those of other places for mutual enlightenment, and after repeated discussion, a number of the most important questions concerning how to operate a revolutionized bank became clear and definite.

Put Mao Tsetung Thought in Command of Everything

To operate a revolutionized bank, the most fundamental thing is to bring politics and Mao Tsetung thought to the fore, and put Mao Tsetung thought in command of everything. Mao Tsetung thought is the supreme guideline for all kinds of work. Only those people armed with Mao Tsetung thought can bring the greatest combat strength into play and only those who put Mao Tsetung thought in command will not lose their bearings.

All were of the view that to make living study and application of Chairman Mao's works, it was necessary to implement "three kinds of integration."

First, integrating the study of Chairman Mao's works with ideological remolding. The fundamental question of ideological remolding is one of solving the life philosophy, the question of solving the relationship between "public interest" and "self-interest," between subjectivity and objectivity. We must establish the thought of striving neither for fame nor for gain, fearing neither hardship nor death, operating banks and credit cooperatives and doing all kinds of work for the revolution. This calls for fostering and steeling an extremely proletarianized and extremely militant force which is both red and vocationally proficient.

Second, integrating the study of Chairman Mao's works with the improvement of work. It is necessary to take Mao Tsetung thought as the guideline for all of our work and to blaze a trail for the socialist, revolutionary people's bank. This means that in all kinds of work of the bank, it is necessary to implement conscientiously one policy, two kinds of service and three great viewpoints, closely follow the center of the Party committee and serve the three great revolutionary movements. The most important question at the moment is to oppose energetically the simon-pure functional viewpoint and the eclecticist thought, otherwise, the implementation of one policy, two kinds of service and three great viewpoints will come to nought. The simon-pure functional viewpoint is a very stubborn force of habit of deep-going influence to us, and we must fight against it over and over again without interruption.

Third, integrating the study of Chairman Mao's works with the improvement of the work style. It is necessary to observe Chairman Mao's teaching: We should firmly implement democratic centralism, firmly adhere to the mass line of from the masses to the masses, concentrate ideas from the masses and once again go to the masses so that the ideas are persevered in and carried through, and carry out the method of work of integrating the general with the individual, the leadership with the masses.

Analyze Contradictions, Correctly Handle a Number of Relationships

"To revolutionize oneself, one must first know one's own present state of affairs, and in accordance with the high criteria of revolutionization, find out one's own difference, grasp the main contradictions and

solve them in a sensible manner." This was a very important understanding gained by everybody at the time of discussing the question of revolutionization. Because of this, all held that seen in the light of the demand of the current situation of the revolution and of the actual development of the three great revolutionary movements in T'unghsien for banking work, the following six aspects of relationship must be tightly grasped and handled well.

First, the need to handle well the relationship between politics and work. We must bring politics to the fore, energetically oppose the simon-pure functional viewpoint and eclecticism, give first place to political work among all kinds of work, and truly put politics in command of work.

Second, the need to handle well the relationship between departmental work and central work. Irrespective of whether it is a bank branch, a bank office or a credit cooperative, the center of the Party committee must be closely followed, and initiative must be taken to serve central work. At present, the center of the T'unghsien Party committee is to grasp the three great revolutions simultaneously, and the banks and credit cooperatives must energetically take the initiative to work in coordination and look for their own work stations.

Third, the need to handle well the relationship between urban work and rural work. Industrial and commercial credit work must constantly analyze the relationships of industrial, handicraft, commercial and agricultural production in the whole hsien, and energetically organize them to serve agricultural production and the livelihood of the peasants. In work the hsien bank must first guarantee that 90 percent of its strength is devoted to giving useful aid to agricultural production. At the same time, it must energetically and successfully organize the economic life of the urban dwellers and help them solve the need for capital funds for carrying out neighborhood production and for coping with their difficulties in livelihood.

Fourth, the need to handle well the relationship between aid to production and the control and use of capital funds. In agricultural and financial work, we must energetically publicize the positive spirit of relying on Tachai, on Party policy and on the 500 million peasants in agriculture. We must jump clear of the functional circle of granting and recalling loans, and strive to be a team that handles economic work as well as political work and mass work. We must closely integrate guiding the finance and accounts of communes and teams with agricultural and financial work, closely integrate the control and use of the capital funds of communes and teams with the control and use of state funds in aid of agriculture, and truly grasp the financial and accounting work of communes and teams as the central link.

Fifth, the need to handle well the relationship between reliance on professional cadres and reliance on the masses to operate banks. The meeting pointed out: Our bank is in the service of the people, and as a consequence, we must rely on the masses to operate the bank and operate a bank supported by the masses. In state enterprises, the disbursers of

money should be relied upon to control money. In the countryside, it is necessary to rely on the broad masses of credit cooperative cadres, on the accounts personnel of people's communes, production brigades and production teams. In the cities, it is necessary to rely on the mutual-aid savings organizations of the broad masses of workers and inhabitants themselves. In this way, it is possible to implement the demand for the operation of banks by the masses.

Sixth, the need to handle well the relationship between the spot and the area. The generalization of the leadership should be solved, and unless we go deep into reality and the grassroots level, we cannot successfully solve the question of integrating the top side with the bottom side.

The Key Lies in the Revolutionization of the Leadership

The most important problem of the T'unghsin branch bank in political and ideological work at the moment is that ideology lags behinds the situation and the leadership lags behind the masses. Consequently, the ideological revolutionization of the leadership is the point of breakthrough in realizing the revolutionization of the whole T'unghsien bank, and is also a premise for operating a revolutionized bank.

Since the key lies in the ideological revolutionization of the leadership, how then should the revolutionization begin? The meeting pointed out that this should start from the following five aspects.

First, the most fundamental thing is that the core of leadership must take the lead in studying well Chairman Mao's works, exert itself in application, consciously carry out the revolution and remold its thought. In order to become a strong fighting citadel, the Party branch must first exercise supervision over the conscientious study of Chairman Mao's works by the leading cadres. At the same time, the collective leadership of the Party branch should be strengthened, criticism and self-criticism should be carried out, and the unity of the core of leadership should be strengthened.

Second, strengthen political and ideological work, grasp well living ideas, and fully mobilize the positive factors of the masses. There are many living ideas among the cadres, and the question is whether they are grasped and grasped tightly, whether or not we dare to mobilize the masses to the full extent, mobilize everybody to take a hand in political and ideological work and in carrying out the struggle for fostering proletarian ideology and liquidating bourgeois ideology.

Third, operate a spot at every level. Each of the leading cadres at all levels should have a spot to go deep into and to conduct investigation and study. The spot should be regarded as the experimental base of one's own work, and it should lead the area to carry out the mass movement for comparing with, learning from, catching up with, helping and surpassing others.

Fourth, implement democratic centralism and take the mass line. To overcome the past shortcoming of not adequately developing democracy, it is necessary to lend ears to the views of the masses, to let people have their full say, to hear both favorable and unfavorable remarks, to listen patiently and to unite those people holding views different from ours.

Fifth, it is also necessary to match steps with the situation in organization and structure and to realize the revolutionization of organs. The organs of the branch bank must be simplified, must possess fighting power and must be high in efficiency. Work must be properly divided between the first and second fronts. Some affairs should be dealt with by bank offices and the branch bank should not handle too much work so that it can exercise stronger leadership. It is decided to set up bank offices in communes. In this way, the center of the Party can be better served and convenience is offered to communes and production brigades and teams, enterprises and the masses.

People Are Bent on Taking Action To Give Pursuit to Each Other

After several days of meeting, everybody had a clearcut understanding in respect of the question of whether or not and how the revolutionized bank should be operated. Everybody saw light and the direction, and the road was easier to take. The meeting bared and also basically solved the thought of "almost the same," the thought of "no admittance," the thought of "knowing not how to revolutionize oneself" and the thought of "too high to scale." All comrades at the meeting were bent on taking action and making higher and better achievements. There appeared at the meeting a new atmosphere in which the old fighters learned from the young and the young fighters learned from the old, the backward learned from the advanced, the advanced strived to become even more advanced, and all people gave pursuit to each other. Many comrades declared with confidence: So long as we follow Chairman Mao's teachings, persist in "forgetting not five things," wholeheartedly serve the people, rely on the leadership of the Party and maintain close contacts with the masses, we certainly can operate a revolutionized bank.

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Hold High the Great Red Banner of Mao Tsetung Thought, Operate Revolutionized Bank Cadre Schools

- Chung-kuo Chin-jung editorial -

(Chung-kuo Chin-jung [China Finance], No. 9, May 9, 1966)

The most important task of a bank cadre school is to give the cadres a course of political training. A bank cadre school is an important base for propagating Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tsetung thought, publicizing and implementing the general and specific policies of the Party and fostering proletarian cadres. Take sensible steps to operate bank cadre schools and train well cadres at all levels group by group and stage by stage in a planned manner--this is an important measure for bringing politics to the fore and carrying out to the letter the "four firsts," an important item of capital construction for strengthening the contingent of bank cadres, and an important way to bring about the revolutionization of the contingent of bank cadres. The successful operation of bank cadre school has an important role to play in developing the whole financial undertaking.

Since the convening of the National Conference on Work of Finance and Trade Cadre Schools by the Finance and Trade Department of the CCP Central Committee in December last year, the bank cadre schools of all places, based on the spirit of the rectification campaign and adopting the method of integrating the leadership with the masses, have generally relayed and implemented the spirit of this conference, made comparison and examination, summed up experiences, exposed contradictions and drawn up measures. The bank cadre schools in quite a number of places have taken positive action in an endeavor to realize the revolutionization of the bank cadre schools.

What should be done to operate cadre schools well? According to the spirit of the National Conference of Finance and Trade Cadres Schools and the experience of the Changsha Political School of the PLA and the experiences of some bank cadre schools, what is most fundamental is to hold high the great red banner of Mao Tsetung thought, bring politics to the fore, persist in the "four firsts," promote in a big way the "three-eight work style," firmly adhere to the educational policy with Mao Tsetung thought as the compass, and operate schools according to Mao Tsetung thought.

The cadre school of the Honan Provincial Branch Bank has once again given a vigorous explanation to this question. People of this cadre school persist in putting politics in command and arming the minds of teachers, workers and students with Mao Tsetung thought in teaching work, in political and ideological work, and in administration and management. In handling the relationship between the study of Chairman Mao's works and other material of instruction, they persist in taking Chairman Mao's works as basic textbooks. In handling the relationship between the concrete experience in the study of political work and ideological remolding, they persist in linking theory with reality with main emphasis given to ideological remolding. In handling the

relationship between private study by students and hearing the lectures of teachers, emphasis is laid on private study by students in order to enlighten conscious revolution among the students. The leading cadres and teachers of the school set the example in person in every place. They creatively study and apply Chairman Mao's works, impose strict demands on themselves, teach by words and deeds, and gradually foster an excellent study style. Simultaneously with conscientiously studying the PLA experience in political and ideological work, they pay attention to summing up their own practical experiences. By doing this, the Honan cadre school is of enlightenment and guiding significance to the successful operation of bank cadre schools.

To operate bank cadre schools well is at the moment an important task for banking departments in political work and is also the urgent demand of the broad masses of bank cadres. On the basis of relaying and implementing the National Conference on Work of Finance and Trade Cadre Schools, the bank cadres schools of all places have truly carried out to the letter the spirit of the conference in every type of concrete work. Everybody is carrying out to the letter this spirit himself and is making energetic efforts to carry out to the letter all measures. Under the unified leadership and arrangements of the local finance and trade and political departments, the political organs of banks in all places should exercise stronger concrete leadership over cadre school work, reinforce and adjust well the leading groups of the cadre schools, exercise a good grip on reinforcing, adjusting, fostering and improving the teaching ranks, opportunely help the cadre schools solve their actual difficulties in work, and accomplish in an outstanding manner the task of training the cadres by rotation. We believe that by holding high the great red banner of Mao Tsetung thought, bringing politics to the fore and persisting in the "four firsts" under the leadership of Party committees at all levels, provided the cadre schools are run with the revolutionary spirit by all comrades, we certainly can operate bank cadre schools at all level as revolutionized schools and make greater contributions toward revolutionizing the ranks of the bank cadres.

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Take Positive Action, Conscientiously Implement the Spirit of the National Conference of Finance and Trade Cadre Schools

(Chung-kuo Chin-jung [China Finance], No. 9, May 9, 1966)

(Our Own Correspondent) After the Finance and Trade Department of the CCP Central Committee convened in December last year the National Conference on Work of Finance and Trade Cadre Schools at Shanghai, the cadre schools and the provincial and municipal branches of the banking system, under the unified leadership of the local Party committees, have generally relayed and implemented [the spirit of the conference]. By making comparison and examination in accordance with the spirit of the conference and looking for differences on the basis of affirming achievements, they have clearly defined the direction for them to exert their efforts thereafter, and mapped out concrete training plans. Acting faster, some places have won more prominent achievements.

After their return from the conference, the comrades of the bank cadre schools of Honan, Heilungkiang, Hupeh and other places relayed the spirit of the conference to all teachers and workers. All were of the view that the conference of cadre schools had pointed out the direction and solved a series of important questions of policy and principle concerning the operation of cadre schools.

The comrades of the Heilungkiang Bank Cadre School declared: "The Conference on Work of Finance and Trade Cadre Schools has hit the vital spot by advancing clearcut general and specific policies of great importance for cadres schools, conducting concrete discussion and opportunely pointing out problems." Some said: "This conference has solved the key problems by clearly pointing out the direction and accurately grasping problems, and we clearly understand what should be carry out from now on."

The various schools generally relayed and implemented the conference of finance and trade cadre schools with the spirit of the rectification campaign. Some principal leading cadres took the lead in drawing fire to burn themselves. Using the Shanghai Conference as the mirror, they fully aroused the masses and exposed the contradictions. In accordance with the views advanced by the masses, quite a number of leading cadres took the initiative to make self-examination. They gave great enlightenment to the masses, and all people consciously looked for their own differences and the future direction to exert their efforts.

All schools were of the universal opinion that problems were truly solved through implementing the spirit of the Shanghai Conference this time. At the same time, they also were deeply aware that in order to operate successfully the finance and trade cadre schools, the most fundamental thing was to hold high the great red banner of Mao Tsetung thought, bring politics to the fore, persist in the "four firsts" and in the educational policy with Mao Tsetung thought as the compass, earnestly study the experience of the Changsha Political School of the PLA, sum up their own experiences,

and operate cadre schools with the revolutionary spirit as revolutionized cadre schools. Inspired by the spirit of the Shanghai Conference, the enthusiasm of the broad masses of teachers and workers was further aroused, the style of leadership and the method of teaching were improved upon, and a new high tide in the living study and application of Chairman Mao's works was whipped up.

To implement well the spirit of the National Conference on Work of Finance and Trade Cadre Schools, many provincial and municipal bank branches made a detailed study on the question of how to operate well bank cadre schools, and quite a number of them also relayed and implemented their studies at the conference of heads of branch banks. Some branch banks designated a deputy head or a vice director of the political department to take charge of the training of cadres. The branch banks and organs of the head office in Liaoning, Honan, Anhwei, Hupeh, Hunan, Shantung and Sinkiang have all drawn up plans for the training of cadres by rotation within three years.

The Shansi Provincial Branch Bank is planning to train all business managers and leading cadres of higher ranks in about three years time. Two courses are scheduled to be run this year with each course training 200 persons. The first course began early in April.

According to the provisions of the Finance and Trade Department of the Municipal Committee concerning the training of cadres, Shanghai Municipal Branch Bank is mainly training the heads of administration units, study units and trade union units, committee members of Party branches, committee members of grassroots trade unions, secretaries of CYL branches and the ordinary cadres of the political department. It is the decision of the Branch Bank to run four training courses each year, and the first course has already begun.

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Show Concern for the Motherland, Bear in Mind the World Affairs, and Handle Foreign Exchange and Insurance for the Revolutionary Cause

- a conference on foreign exchange and insurance called by the General Management Office of the Bank of China and the Chinese People's Insurance Company

(Chung-kuo Chin-jung [Chinese Finance], No. 9, May 9, 1966)

(Our own dispatch) From March 21 through April 17, 1966, the General Management Office of the Bank of China and the Chinese People's Insurance Company called, in Peking, a National Conference on Foreign Exchange and Insurance Work. The branches of the bank and the insurance company in various ports and border areas sent their representatives to attend this conference. While this conference was in session, the participants studied quotations from Chairman Mao; they learned the brilliant deeds of Comrade Chiao Yu-lu (焦裕祿), a good pupil of Chairman Mao, and Comrade Li Fang-chou (李芳洲) a good example for the whole staff of the bank; they heard reports made and instructions transmitted by Comrades Fang Kao (方 皋), and K'ang I-min (康 一 民) and other leading comrades; they organized exchange of experience in the living study and application of Chairman Mao's works and in doing well the foreign exchange and insurance work; they reviewed the work of foreign exchange and insurance done in the past two years; they discussed problems about the orientation in which they should strive and the guideline and tasks in the future. In the spirit of self-revolutionization, comrades attending the meeting examined the difference between themselves and Comrade Chiao Yu-lu and Li Fang-chou. They decided to learn from them their noble character of wholly and completely serving the people and to establish a firm revolutionary outlook on life. They expressed their will to humbly learn from fraternal units and other people their advanced experience and to strive to make improvements. They said that they had learned an impressive, revolutionary lesson in this conference and that this conference was an occasion for bringing politics to the fore, for the masses to educate themselves, and for promoting revolutionization in thinking and in work.

The conference discussed the excellent situation at home and elsewhere. All unanimously agreed that: This excellent situation is a tremendous encouragement and spurring to our foreign exchange and insurance work. Though we have made tremendous achievements in work, yet our work is still far behind the needs of the current situation. We should establish a noble will and lofty ambition, hold still higher the great red banner of Mao Tsetung thought, show concern for the motherland, bear in mind the world affairs and, on the basis of doing well our work at home, actively carry out financial activities in the international sphere, dare to struggle and to take our own road, and strive to meet the needs of the current situation of the revolution.

The conference pointed out: Our tasks of foreign exchange and insurance would be: to continuously hold high the great red banner of Mao Tsetung thought, to bring politics to the fore, to take class struggle and the struggle between the socialist road and the capitalist road as the key link, to implement the policy of "one guideline, two services, and three major viewpoints" and the four slogans of action; to establish the ideas of conducting foreign exchange and insurance work for the revolutionary cause and to promote revolutionization of thinking and work; to strengthen the concept of preparedness against war, to strengthen our service in foreign trade, to strengthen our service to the compatriots overseas and their dependents at home, to do well the foreign exchange and the work in border areas which have nothing to do with trade, to actively carry out financial struggle and financial activities in the international sphere, to aid agriculture in a better way, to give better support to national defense and economic construction, and to give better support to the Vietnamese people in their struggle against the United States and to the world's people in their revolutionary movements.

The participants in the conference repeatedly studied Chairman Mao's consistent teaching that "Politics is the command and soul" and "Political work is the life blood of all economic work," and learned the great significance of these teachings and realized that whether or not they would bring politics to the fore was a problem of political orientation. They understood that: In doing foreign exchange and insurance work, we must continuously implement the spirit of the National Political Work Conference of Finance and Trade held in February 1965 and the spirit of the conference of directors of all branches of the Chinese People's Bank held in December 1965. We must tightly grasp the living study and application of Chairman Mao's works, educate the staff members and other workers, take Chairman Mao's works as the supreme directive for our work in various fields, and lay emphasis on "application." We must tightly grasp and persist in the four firsts, vigorously grasp the living ideas, thoroughly disclose and criticize the simple business viewpoint, thoroughly get rid of the influence of foreign conventions and hard and fast rules of various types, resolutely oppose the eclectic idea of putting politics in a position parallel to business, resolutely put political work in the first position of all other work, so that the foreign exchange and insurance work in China will really be revolutionized and serve the people.

For this reason, we must resolutely struggle against the simple business viewpoint, the eclectic viewpoint, arrogance, complacency and all ideas of standing still, finding satisfaction with the achieved results and refusing to make progress. This is a struggle for promoting the proletarian ideology and destroying the bourgeois ideology in the bank and a struggle between the socialist road and the capitalist road. The banks and insurance companies in all localities should adopt the method of a small-scale rectification campaign waged in accordance with their concrete conditions and at a fixed time each year, and disclose and criticize the simple business viewpoint and all sorts of erroneous ideas. They should adopt the revolutionary spirit and conscientiously examine and, where

necessary, amend the existing regulations and systems. In reforming the systems, they must see who charted and who approved these systems. They must establish a new system before destroying an old one. As long as we regularly wage incessant struggle against the simple business viewpoint, perseveringly bring politics to the fore and take Mao Tsetung thought as our guide, we will carry out our work ever more vigorously and embark on an ever broadening road.

The conference was of the opinion that, in doing foreign exchange and insurance work, we must firmly implement the policy of "one guideline, two services, and three major viewpoints" and the four slogans of action, actively display our role as a political work team, a mass work team and an economic work team.

Production determines exchange and allotment. Without production, there cannot be foreign trade, foreign exchange and insurance work. Therefore, we must proceed from production, bring man's subjective initiative into full play, actively do a good job of credit loans on foreign trade, international balancing and insurance work. We must try all possible means to help foreign trade enterprises carry out production, tap the resources of goods for export, vigorously organize procurement of goods, expand export, accomplish better the tasks of procurement, import and export, and increase the accumulation of capitals for foreign trade.

After study and discussion, comrades participating in the conference unanimously agreed that: We are workers of foreign exchange and insurance of the proletariat. We should do whatever is advantageous to the revolution. We should not draw a line between "what we should do" and "what we should not do." Moreover, we should not let the old rules and foreign conventions hinder us from doing more work for the revolution. We must combat the ideas of waiting for customers, taking ourselves as the center, and confining our scope to law while refusing to be reasonable. We must advocate the new styles of going deep into production, into the enterprise, into practice, making investigations at selected points, and actively rendering service for foreign trade.

The conference was of the opinion that, in the credit loans on foreign trade, the international balancing and the insurance work, service for foreign trade should be strengthened in two aspects. First, class struggle should be taken as the key link in strengthening foreign trade. We must adopt the viewpoint of class struggle to approach and handle the problems arising in the credit loans on foreign trade, the international balancing and the insurance work. We must conscientiously implement the general line in the Party's foreign policy and continuously enlarge our country's socialist influence in the international sphere. Secondly, we must carry out the spirit of increasing production and practicing economy and tap new resources and cut down expenses in various fields. All banks and insurance companies in ports and in the interiors must enthusiastically go deep into various enterprises, actively help the foreign trade departments carry out the movement of increasing production and practicing economy,

continuously improve their business management and cut down their expenses. Meanwhile, they must do a good job of increasing production and practicing economy.

The work of remittance from overseas Chinese is economic work as well as political work; it involves work at home and abroad. It necessitates the work among the masses and the united front work among dependents of overseas Chinese at various strata. Therefore, in doing the work of remittance from overseas Chinese, it is necessary to bring politics to the fore, to put politics in command of business, to relentlessly combat the simple business viewpoint, and to correctly carry out the State's home and foreign policies. While doing the work of remittance from overseas Chinese, we must unite with and educate the broad masses of overseas Chinese. We also must make investigations and tightly grasp the living ideas, strengthen political and ideological education for the returned overseas Chinese and the dependents of overseas Chinese, organize them to study Chairman Mao's works, guide them to firmly take the socialist road and help them enhance their consciousness and take an active part in the socialist construction of the motherland. Only in this way will it be possible to put political work on a solid basis in the work of remittance from overseas Chinese. Everyone handling remittance from overseas Chinese should see clearly that they themselves are, first of all, political workers whose duty is to unite with the broad masses of overseas Chinese, to organize and educate the dependents of the overseas Chinese and, next to it, they are economic workers. They should actively serve the overseas compatriots and their dependents in accordance with the State's policy toward overseas Chinese affairs and toward remittance from overseas Chinese, and strive to handle well the remittance from overseas Chinese.

The conference went on to point out: The other part of the work of foreign exchange which has nothing to do with trade is done chiefly in connection with the citizens of capitalist countries and overseas Chinese. In doing the work in this part, we must bring politics to the fore, persist in the policy and the principle and vividly handle concrete problems of various sorts. We should not regard the work of foreign exchange which has nothing to do with trade as only the work of receiving and paying, auditing, and approving. Instead, we should regard it as political work, as Comrade Yuan Shih-huan (袁士环) did in handling the work of exchange of foreign currency. Various branches of the bank and the company concerned must concretely strengthen their leadership over the work of foreign exchange which has nothing to do with trade. They must cooperate closely with other departments concerned in doing this work well.

The management and exchange of currencies in the border areas is the foremost front of the bank's work of control of foreign exchange. While handling the problems in this field, we must take the class struggle as the key link, distinguish the two qualitatively different contradictions, strictly carry out the State's foreign policy and its policy toward minority nationalities.

Before it concluded, the conference called upon workers and cadres responsible for foreign exchange and insurance work throughout the country to show concern for the motherland, to bear in mind the world affairs, to handle foreign exchange and insurance work for the revolutionary cause, to wage struggle daringly and to courageously take their own road and, in the future, to actively intensify preparations ideologically, organizationally and theoretically, so that the foreign exchange and insurance work might meet the demand of the current situation of the revolution. In order to do this work well, the conference called upon various localities to tightly grasp the revolutionization of the cadres' thinking and work, to train a force of cadres for foreign exchange and insurance work who are armed with Mao Tsetung thought and are both red and expert, to display the spirit of self-reliance in accordance with the five requirements for revolutionary successors as put forth by Chairman Mao, to draw plans for resolutely and gradually bringing up large groups of red and expert young cadres in the three to five years to come, and to promote these young cadres to the leading posts at various levels. They must actively carry out financial activities and financial struggles in the international sphere and vigorously oppose the international united front organized by the US imperialism. They must take Mao Tsetung thought as the guide and conscientiously sum up our country's experience in foreign exchange and insurance work in the past 16 years and, on this basis, set up a complete set of socialist theories and systems which are entirely free from the influence of capitalism, revisionism and the feudal comprador system, and render better service for the Chinese revolution and the world revolution.

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Telephone Conference Jointly Held by the Ministry of Finance and the People's Bank of China

(Chung-kuo Chin-jung [China Finance], No. 10, May 24, 1966)

On April 22 the Ministry of Finance and the People's Bank of China jointly held a telephone conference in Peking, attended by the directors of provincial, municipal and autonomous region departments and bureaus of finance and the bank branch managers. The conference urged the finance departments and banks in various localities to develop the production-increase and economy movement more extensively and penetratingly. Addressing the conference Vice President Fang Kao (方 皋) of the People's Bank of China and Vice Minister of Finance Tseng Chih (曾 治) gave important instructions concerning the production-increase and economy campaign to be developed in the finance departments and banks and in various enterprise units. Responsible comrades from the Kwangtung and Liaoning provincial sub-offices of the People's Bank and from the Liaoning and Shensi provincial departments of finance told the conference how they had developed the production-increase and economy campaign and how they had helped the enterprise units develop production and practice economy.

Comrade Fang Kao addressed the conference when it began. He began by pointing out: This year is the first year of the third five-year plan of our country. Fulfillment and overfulfilling of this year's tasks will be of momentous significance to the triumphant realization of the third five-year plan. The production-increase and economy campaign now spreading to all parts of the country will not only mobilize more manpower and material and financial resources effectively to build socialism and speed up the tempo of construction in our country; by combating waste and practicing rigid economy, the campaign will also give the broad masses of cadres and workers a profound socialist education in promoting the proletarian and destroying the bourgeois, make them think in terms of building the country and running enterprises and all undertakings by industry and thrift, and promote revolutionization of their minds.

Under the single leadership of local Party organizations and governments, the finance departments and banks at various levels, in conjunction with the competent enterprise departments and the enterprise units, have done some work to develop the production-increase and economy campaign, playing an active part in promoting this campaign. The production-increase and economy campaign of the finance departments and banks themselves has in some cases been unfolded. However, the development of this production-increase and economy campaign is still not even in some localities. It seems that the campaign of the finance departments and banks is falling behind the production-increase and economy campaign of the industrial and commercial enterprises. This being so, the finance departments and banks must go into immediate action, bring politics further to the fore, combat the purely professional viewpoint, conscientiously implement Chairman Mao's instructions concerning industry and thrift in national construction, and expand the production-increase and economy campaign more effectively.

Comrade Fang Kao told the conference: To be hardworking, frugal and careful of every bit of material and financial strength is the fine revolutionary tradition of us proletarians and laboring masses while to be extravagant and wasteful of the fruits of working people's labor is the style of the bourgeoisie and all exploiting classes. This being so, to do things according to the principle of industry and thrift or in extravagant and wasteful ways is an important question of struggle between the socialist and capitalist roads and an important question of combating and preventing revisionism. Politically, extravagance and waste will corrode our revolutionary will, thought and style. Economically, extravagance and waste will cause great losses. Thus, combating waste, practicing rigid economy and resolutely implementing the policy of industry and thrift is not an expediency but a long-term policy concerning the socialist revolution and socialist construction. By expanding the production-increase and economy campaign conscientiously, the proletarian style of building the country by industry and thrift and waging an arduous struggle may gradually strike root in the minds of the cadres and workers of enterprises and finance departments and banks, and the "one policy, two objects of service and three major viewpoints" may really manifest themselves in various kinds of work, thereby promoting the revolutionization of our work.

Concerning the banks' production-increase and economy campaign, Comrade Fang Kao emphasized the need to quicken the steps and spread the campaign vigorously on a solid basis. The production-increase and economy campaign is now spreading satisfactorily in some local banks. But the campaign has not yet been satisfactorily developed in some local banks and instances of extravagance and waste are still found; no attention is paid to economy in the matter of defraying expenses. It is obviously wrong to think that not much can be gained from the banks' production-increase and economy campaign.

Comrade Fang Kao said: Banks are departments managing the working funds, and if the funds are not well managed, great loss and waste of state funds will be caused. At present, the industrial and commercial enterprises still use the commodities and funds irrationally in some cases. These questions have more or less to do with the defects of our fund management and should arouse the attention of all bank cadres. To carry out conscientious check-up, sum up experiences, learn lessons and improve the work--such are the keypoints of our production-increase and economy campaign.

Further, Comrade Fang Kao urged the finance and bank cadres to pay attention to the questions of improving the quality of work and raising the work efficiency, to serve production and commodity circulation better, and to save manpower and material and financial resources.

Comrade Fang Kao urged the finance departments and banks to cooperate closely, to assist the industrial, commercial and agricultural enterprises in launching the production-increase and economy campaign, and to become promoters of the campaign. It would be imperative, first of all, to bring politics to the fore, study and apply Chairman Mao's writings in

creative ways and do away with all sorts of impure and selfish ideas. Every cadre should be made to throw himself into the campaign in a spirit of assuming responsibility for the Party and revolution. The enterprises should be helped not only to tap the latent power of commodities but also to carry out politico-ideological work and mobilize the masses. The finance departments and banks should play their roles as political work team, economic work team and mass work team and, on the basis of raising the awakening of the workers of the enterprises, conduct the production-increase and economy campaign deep-goingly and thoroughly. Where no production-increase and economy campaign has been launched, the finance departments and banks may, with approval of the Party committees, carry out experiments in conjunction with the competent enterprise departments, striving to take the first step in a district or a department. In helping the enterprises launch the production-increase and economy campaign, the finance departments and banks should integrate the part with the whole and concentrate forces to fight a battle of annihilation instead of dispersing their forces. They should grasp the typical examples, dissect the sparrows and use the part to guide the whole. With regard to industrial and communication enterprises, the finance departments and banks should grasp verfication of capital and regulation of funds, paying particular attention to the verfication of the total amount of capital. With regard to commercial enterprises, the finance departments and banks should, according to the demand of the recent telephone conference held by the Ministry of Commerce, help the grain and warehouse units launch the production-increase and economy campaign and acquire experience before spreading the campaign. In helping the enterprises launch the production-increase and economy campaign the finance departments and banks should closely integrate the work with the job of improving the financial and banking operations. To participate in the enterprises' campaign to increase production and production is to carry out a general check-up on the financial and banking operations. Through the practice of taking part in the production-increase and economy campaign, we should raise our thinking, improve our style and work and revolutionize our work further.

Comrade Tseng Chih made a summing-up speech at the conference after comrades from the Kwangtung, Liaoning, Tsinan, and Shensi finance departments and banks introduced their experiences. Comrade Tseng Chih's speech centered on the question of how the finance departments and banks should urge the enterprises to develop the production-increase and economy campaign. He said: Under the leadership of local Party committees the finance departments and banks have taken some effective measures to urge the enterprises to develop the production-increase and economy campaign, and have scored some initial achievements. However, taking the situation as a whole, our grasp of this work is still not firm enough and the campaign is not so powerful and fast as to meet the demand arising from the development of the objective situation. For this reason, we must swing into immediate action to make our work catch up with the situation.

Comrade Tseng Chih emphasized that the finance departments and banks must extensively and deep-goingly proceed with politico-ideological work and mobilize the masses in order to develop the production-increase and economy campaign. Mass movement is the key to deep-going development of the production-increase and economy campaign. It should be brought home to the

broad masses of office and factory workers that to practice rigid economy and combat waste is an important thing emphasized time and again by the Party Center and Chairman Mao and that the production-increase and economy campaign is not a general problem of work but an important problem bearing on the implementation of the Party's general line for building socialism. It would be imperative to mobilize the broad masses to combat extravagance, waste and bureaucratism, to increase production and practice rigid economy and to make the idea of industry and thrift enter deep into people's minds. The masses should be mobilized, first of all, to expose instances of waste and tap the latent power in all fields. All measures for increasing production, practicing economy, checking assets, verifying funds, and improving management must be carried out through the mobilization of the masses and the reliance on the masses. A few personnel of the finance departments alone cannot carry out these measures successfully.

Comrade Tseng Chih said: A great deal can be done by the finance departments and banks to promote production and economy. The finance departments and banks must enthusiastically promote development of production. Without production there is no financial work. Without promoting production the finance departments and banks cannot build close ties with the masses and cannot make a good job of people's financial work. Only by making efforts to promote production increase and practice of economy can the finance departments and banks increase income, cut down expenditure and win approval of the units and the masses concerned. The finance departments and banks must do everything possible to serve the growth of the national economy, regularly promote production and economy, seek economy in production increase and promote production increase by practicing economy before they can ever broaden the road of our financial work.

Comrade Tseng Chih said: The finance departments and banks are comprehensive departments having extensive connections in their work and possessing many facilities for urging the enterprises to increase production and practice economy. The finance departments and banks in various localities can promote production increase and economy mainly in the following fields: First, they can go deep into the industrial and agricultural production units and the first line of commodity circulation to make investigation and study, to help arrange various kinds of funds, and to grasp the use effect of funds; within the scope of the state plans they can actively help the enterprises solve their problems of production, supply and marketing. Second, they can turn to the countryside and help the commune teams display the Tachai spirit, develop agricultural production and side occupations, arrange the aid-agriculture funds rationally and display the function of funds. Third, they can actively help the units concerned tap the latent power of commodities, dispose of the commodities tapped, and use these commodities for production and construction purposes. Fourth, they can help and urge the construction units and building units strengthen business accounting and cut down the building cost and save construction units while ensuring the quality of projects. Fifth, they can help the units concerned improve warehouse management, plug the loopholes and prevent loss and waste of commodities. Sixth, through financial analysis they can compare with the advanced, find the gap, tap the latent power and give an impetus to the "compare, learn, catch, help and overtake" movement.

Further, Comrade Tseng Chih urged leading cadres of the finance departments and banks to study and apply Chairman Mao's writings in creative ways, to set an example and to voluntarily apply Chairman Mao's thought to promote production and economy. The finance departments and banks must assign adequate forces to grasp the work of increasing production and practicing economy; the forces should be reinforced if they are not adequate. At the same time, forces should be organized to go to the first line of production and commodity circulation to make investigation and study, to grasp the typical examples in production increase and economy, to sum up experiences, to use the part to guide the whole, to organize exchange of experiences, and to bring about a greater development of the production-increase and economy campaign.

Comrade Tseng Chih concluded by pointing out: The political and economic situations throughout the country are excellent, so is the financial and banking work. In particular, "one policy, two objects of service and three major viewpoints" has been further implemented after bringing politics to the fore and repudiating the purely professional viewpoint. It is believed that by going all out and exerting efforts together the finance departments and banks led by the Party committees will certainly be able to achieve success soon in the production-increase and economy campaign and to fulfill the tasks of the finance departments and banks better.

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Further Strengthen the Dictatorship of the Proletariat

- Study Chairman Mao's theory of continuing the revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat to commemorate the first anniversary of the 9th Party Congress

by

The Writing Group of the Heilungkiang Provincial Revolutionary Committee

(Hung-ch'i [Red Flag], No. 4, Mar. 31, 1970)

Hung-ch'i Editor's Note:

April 1 is the first anniversary of the 9th National Congress of the Chinese Communist Party. We hereby publish this article to commemorate the occasion.

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At the 9th Party Congress Chairman Mao issued the great call: "Unite to win still greater victories." During the First Plenary Session of tge 9th Central Committee of the Party, Chairman Mao again stressed: "Unite for one purpose, that is, the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat. This must be fully achieved in every factory, village, office and school."

Because this extremely important instruction of Chairman Mao's has been carried out conscientiously in the past year, both revolution and production are advancing in an ever better way. The dictatorship of the proletariat has been continuously strengthened in China in the course of effective and thoroughgoing struggle-criticism-transformation during the great proletarian cultural revolution. Our great socialist motherland--the People's Republic of China--is more consolidated, powerful and vigorous than ever.

The great goal set by Chairman Mao, namely, the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat, remains the beacon guiding our work. Once again today we study Chairman Mao's great theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. This will have tremendous practical and far-reaching effect on our efforts to carry out fully Chairman Mao's great strategic concept "heighten our vigilance, defend the motherland" and "be prepared against war, be prepared against natural disasters, and do everything for the people," to fulfill the fighting tasks set by the 9th Party Congress with faster and better results, to oppose the schemes of aggression of US imperialism and social-imperialism, and to strengthen further the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Importance and Necessity of Consolidating the Dictatorship of the Proletariat

Our Great leader Chairman Mao points out: "To sum up our experience and concentrate it into one point, it is: the people's democratic dictatorship under the leadership of the working class (through the Communist Party) and based upon the alliance of workers and peasants. This dictatorship must unite as one with the international revolutionary forces. This is our formula, our principal experience, our main program." ("On the People's Democratic Dictatorship")

In his "Report to the Second Plenary Session of the Seventh Central Committee of the Communist Party of China," "On the People's Democratic Dictatorship," "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People" and other brilliant works and in numerous important instructions, Chairman Mao has scientifically and systematically summed up the historical experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat at home and abroad. He has inherited, defended and developed Marxist-Leninist teachings on the dictatorship of the proletariat, and put forward the great theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. All this guides us in our great and victorious struggle against capitalist restoration at home and against imperialism, modern revisionism and all reaction abroad, and shows the road for the triumphant advance of China's socialist revolution and socialist construction.

Chairman Mao has penetratingly analyzed the contradictions, classes and class struggle in the period of socialist revolution. He has explained that the fundamental program of the proletarian revolution is to overthrow the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes completely and replace the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie by the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Time and again Chairman Mao has taught us that socialist society covers a considerably long historical period, in which there is protracted struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, between the socialist road and the capitalist road. Throughout the historical period of the transition from capitalism to communism, the dictatorship of the proletariat must be strengthened and never weakened, in order for socialism to defeat capitalism, for the prevention of capitalist restoration and the elimination of the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes. It is necessary, therefore, to carry out socialist education, correctly understand and deal with the question of class contradictions and class struggle, and correctly differentiate and handle contradictions between the enemy and ourselves and contradictions among the people. Chairman Mao points out: "From now on, we must remind ourselves of this every year, every month and every day so that we can retain a rather sober understanding of this problem and have a Marxist-Leninist line."

In his great work "On the People's Democratic Dictatorship," Chairman Mao gives an incisive explanation of the importance and necessity of strengthening the dictatorship of the proletariat. In rebuking the absurdity of calls for abolishing our state power, Chairman Mao says:

"..... Not right now; we cannot do it yet. Why? Because imperialism still exists, because domestic reaction still exists, because classes still exist in our country. Our present task is to strengthen the people's State apparatus--mainly the people's army, the people's police and the people's courts--in order to consolidate national defense and protect the people's interests."

Experience of classes and class struggle in our country over the past 20 years has confirmed the complete validity of Chairman Mao's wise conclusion. This great concept has armed the Chinese communists, the proletariat and the revolutionary masses, who have constantly strengthened the dictatorship of the proletariat, smashed the frenzied attacks of the class enemy time and again and consolidated our great socialist motherland. This is the reason for China's growing prosperity.

The renegade, hidden traitor and scab Liu Shao-ch'i openly opposed Mao Tsetung thought and bent every effort to deny the necessity for the dictatorship of the proletariat. He energetically peddled the theory of "the dying out of class struggle," saying "the principal contradictions between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie has also been solved," "class struggle has in the main come to an end" and "the most important task of the State is to organize social life." All this nonsense of his was aimed at deceiving the masses and abolishing the dictatorship of the proletariat for the criminal purpose of restoring capitalism. His plot was utterly vile.

"Classes and the class struggle are facts." ("The Role of the Chinese Communist Party in the National War") It is absolutely ridiculous to deny the existence of class struggle at home and abroad, and thereby to deny the necessity for the dictatorship of the proletariat.

On the international scene, imperialism has never been reconciled to its defeat in China, and has never stopped its scheming activities of aggression and subversion against our country. When the People's Republic of China had just been founded, US imperialism launched a war of aggression against Korea, directing its spearhead of attack at our country, and to this very day it is still occupying China's sacred territory of Taiwan. Social-imperialism frantically attacks China's dictatorship of the proletariat, and dreams of imposing its restoration of capitalism on the Chinese people so as to turn China into a colony of imperialism and social-imperialism. We must never "ignore the danger of US imperialism and Soviet revisionism launching a large-scale war of aggression." (Vice Chairman Lin: "Report at the 9th National Congress of the Communist Party of China")

Faced with such scheme of aggression of imperialism and social-imperialism, should we weaken our proletarian dictatorship? Should we "organize social life" instead of strengthening the proletarian State apparatus? No. It is absolutely impermissible to do that. As long as imperialism, revisionism and reaction exist in the world, the dictatorship of the proletariat must not be weakened for even a single day.

The great Chinese People's Liberation Army armed with Mao Tsetung thought is a firm pillar of the dictatorship of the proletariat. It has done

great merits in the struggle for the defense of the socialist motherland and for crushing the aggressive designs of imperialism, revisionism and reaction. We must develop the glorious traditions of "supporting the army and cherishing the people," strengthen the unity between the army and the people, step up the militia construction, make everyone in the nation a soldier, strengthen preparations for war, and be constantly on the alert. If imperialism and social-imperialism impose war on the Chinese people, we will wipe out resolutely and completely all invaders who dare to come to attack us.

As regards the domestic scene, after the proletariat seized political power throughout the country, the basic contradiction became the "contradiction between the working class and the bourgeoisie." ("Report to the Second Plenary Session of the 7th Central Committee of the Communist Party of China") The bourgeoisie and all the overthrown reactionary classes, including the unreformed landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements, rightists and other counter-revolutionary elements, invariably do their utmost to usurp the leadership of the proletariat and convert the hope of restoration into attempts at restoration. The renegades, enemy agents and absolutely unrepentant capitalist roaders who sneaked into the Party and State organs are representatives of the forces for capitalist restoration who would seize political power and turn the dictatorship of the proletariat into the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie once the opportunity presented itself.

The great proletarian cultural revolution initiated and led by Chairman Mao has destroyed the bourgeois headquarters led by the renegade, hidden traitor and scab Liu Shao-ch'i, ferreted them out and smashed their plot to restore capitalism. However, the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie is still protracted, sharp and complicated and on no account must we relax our vigilance.

The class struggle internationally and internally shows fully that the dictatorship of the proletariat is the fundamental magic weapon for the entire socialist cause to triumph. We must never forget the dictatorship of the proletariat. Chairman Mao taught us on the eve of the founding of the People's Republic of China that, regarding the dictatorship of the proletariat, "this power is now written into our program, it will also be written into our constitution. Like food and clothing, this power is something a victorious people cannot do without even for a moment. It is an excellent thing, a protective talisman, an heirloom, which should under no circumstances be discarded before the thorough and total abolition of imperialism abroad and of classes within the country." ("Why Must We Discuss the White Paper?") Throughout the historical period of building socialism, we must never forget this teaching for even a moment.

We have much work to do. But as long as we firmly grasp the protective talisman and heirloom of the dictatorship of the proletariat as Chairman Mao has indicated, and grasp the key link of the struggle between the two classes, the two roads and the two lines, we will never lose our bearing and will continue to win new victories in socialist revolution and socialist construction.

Socialist Revolution Must Be Continued to Consolidate The Dictatorship of the Proletariat

In order to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and in order to go all out, aim high and achieve greater, faster, better and more economical results in building socialism, the socialist revolution must be continued. After great victory was won in the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production, the socialist revolution had to be continued. Today, when the great proletarian cultural revolution has gained great victory, the socialist revolution must still be continued.

Internationally, the socialist revolution means the struggle against imperialism, modern revisionism and all reaction. Domestically, the socialist revolution means the struggle against the bourgeoisie and all other counter-revolutionary forces which attempt to stage a comeback.

The struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie manifests itself in many ways and takes diverse forms. It sometimes manifests itself prominently in the political arena, sometimes prominently in the ideological-cultural field, at other times prominently in the economical sphere. Although the struggle assumes different forms in these three fields, it centers on the question of political power. The class enemies undertake counter-revolutionary disruptive activities in the political arena, demoralize and poison the masses in the ideological-cultural field and commit corruption, theft and speculation in the economic field. But, their criminal aim is one and the same, that is, to sabotage and disintegrate the dictatorship of the proletariat. If we look at a problem from a certain aspect and in a certain period without taking other aspects and other times into account or if we see only certain superficial phenomena without seeing the essence, that will be metaphysical because we take a simplistic view of the complex class struggle. We should view class struggle in these fields as inter-related and not independent, and we should exercise the dictatorship of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie in an all-round way in the political, ideological-cultural and economic fields.

Chairman Mao points out: "The class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, the class struggle between the different political forces, and the class struggle in the ideological field between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie will continue to be long and tortuous and at times will even become very acute." ("On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People") Class struggle always has ups and downs, high for some time and then low for a time, high once again and low again. We must understand and grasp this characteristic. The internal class struggle and the international class struggle are inter-related. Experience in class struggle tells us that what the class enemy abroad tries to fan up is precisely what the handful of domestic class enemy attempts to stir up. Chairman Mao points out: "It was a case of reactionaries inside a socialist country, in league with the imperialists, attempting to achieve their conspiratorial aims by taking advantage of contradictions among the people to foment dissension and stir up disorder." ("On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People") We must recognize and be good at detecting this kind of enemy plot and smash the enemy's disruptive activities by our great revolutionary unity.

As Chairman Mao in his great work "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People" teaches us: "It must be understood that the hidden counter-revolutionaries still at large will not take things lying down, but will certainly seize every opportunity to make trouble. The US imperialists and the Chiang Kai-shek clique are constantly sending in secret agents to carry on disruptive activities. Even after all the existing counter-revolutionaries have been combed out, new ones may emerge. If we drop our guard, we shall be badly fooled and shall suffer severely. Counter-revolutionaries must be rooted out with a firm hand whenever they are found making trouble."

It is of vital practical significance at this moment to study once again this teaching of Chairman Mao's. The presence of imperialism, the presence of classes in our country, the influence of bourgeois ideology and the corrosive effects of the spontaneous forces of capitalism will always breed new bourgeois elements and counter-revolutionaries. This is something independent of man's will. We should make a living study and application of Mao Tsetung thought, grasp class struggle well, expose and hit at the handful of secret agents and counter-revolutionaries so as to strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat further.

Some people think that after more than three years of the great proletarian cultural revolution, things that should be exposed, criticized or struggled against have been so exposed, criticized or struggled against, that the class enemy no longer dares to make trouble, that "the class struggle has eased," and that the State power of the proletariat should devote all its efforts to economic construction.

Such a view is a reflection under the new situation of the "theory of the dying out of class struggle," and runs counter to Chairman Mao's thinking concerning continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. It must be noted that much work remains to be done in the ideological-cultural field to criticize all kinds of reactionary ideological viewpoints of the bourgeoisie and landlord class, to eliminate capitalists and revisionist influences, to transform all cultural and educational institutions in accordance with Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and to consolidate and develop the achievements of the revolution in the fields of literature and art, education, health work, etc. On the political and economic fronts, we are continuing the struggle against the bourgeoisie. This struggle is the basic guarantee and powerful motive force for our country's socialist construction in winning new and still greater victories, one after another. Practice shows that it is vital to continue the socialist revolution in order to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Only he is a genuine Marxist-Leninist who extends the recognition of class struggle to the recognition of the dictatorship of the proletariat and to the recognition of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. We must firmly bear in mind Chairman Mao's teaching: "We have won great victory. But the defeated class will still struggle. These people are still around and this class still exists. Therefore, we cannot speak of final victory, not even for decades. We must not lose our vigilance."

Hit the Class Enemy Accurately

Chairman Mao teaches us: "The first function of this dictatorship is to suppress the reactionary classes and elements and those exploiters in our country who resist the socialist revolution, to suppress those who try to wreck our socialist construction, or in other words, to resolve the internal contradictions between ourselves and the enemy." "The second function of this dictatorship is to protect our country from subversion and possible aggression by external enemies. In that event, it is the task of this dictatorship to resolve the external contradictions between ourselves and the enemy." ("On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People")

The State apparatus of the dictatorship of the proletariat is an instrument for the proletariat to suppress the reactionary classes and elements; it is not a "benevolent" thing. The dictatorship of the proletariat never applies a policy of benevolence to the reactionary elements and classes. "If the revolutionary people do not master this method of ruling over the counter-revolutionary classes, they will not be able to maintain their State power, domestic and foreign reaction will overthrow that power and restore its own rule over China, and disaster will befall the revolutionary people." ("On the People's Democratic Dictatorship") The secret agents of imperialism, revisionism and reaction and the Chiang Kai-shek bandit gang as well as those active counter-revolutionaries who oppose the dictatorship of the proletariat and conduct sabotage must be resolutely suppressed and revolutionary vigilance must be fully maintained against them. "It is likewise necessary to exercise dictatorship over embezzlers, swindlers, arsonists, murderers, criminal gangs and other scoundrels who seriously disrupt public order." ("On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People") The revolutionary masses demand that such persons be punished. Failure to punish them would run counter to the wishes of the masses.

"Policy and tactics are the life of the Party." The line and the principles and policies formulated by our great leader Chairman Mao for fighting the enemy are powerful ideological weapons for consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat and are the magic weapon to triumph over the enemies. Only by conscientiously implementing Chairman Mao's proletarian policies, can we unite the overwhelming majority of the people to hit hard at the enemy.

To attack the enemy, we must stress "accuracy." "Accuracy" is the prerequisite for correct implementation of the Party's policy toward the struggle against the enemy. Steady, accurate and hard blows are a dialectical unity, with "accuracy" being the crucial factor. Only when we achieve "accuracy" can we strike steady and hard blows at the enemy. Without "accuracy," it is possible to deal neither steady nor hard blows at the enemy. Without "accuracy," it is possible that we may let loose the enemy and do harm to the good people unintentionally.

Some comrades are inclined to the Right when the importance of striking steady blows is stressed and they become ineffectual in attacking the enemy. They are inclined to the "Left" when asked to strike hard blows at the enemy

and they fail to differentiate the two types of contradictions. This is metaphysical. Chairman Mao teaches us: "Stress should be laid on the weight of evidence and on investigation and study, and it is strictly forbidden to obtain confessions by compulsion and to give them credence." To achieve "accuracy" of blows, we must exert ourselves in doing the work of mobilizing the masses and conducting investigation and study.

To be good at making use of the contradictions among the enemies to divide the enemy camp--this is a tactic consistently adopted by the proletariat toward its struggle against the enemy. We must mobilize the masses to create revolutionary public opinion on a massive scale, launch a powerful political offensive against the enemy, and make a success of the work of dividing and disintegrating the class enemies. In doing so, we must act on Chairman Mao's great tactical thinking which he explained in an important article entitled "On Policy," namely, that we must "make use of contradictions, win over the many, oppose the few and crush our enemies one by one."

We must also differentiate the class enemies and refrain from regarding them as all the same. It is necessary, in accordance with the policy of "giving lenient treatment to those who confess and severe punishment to those who resist," to handle different criminals in different ways. In this way, we may hasten the division of the enemy camp and urge some among them to confess and to perform merits to atone for their sins, so that the handful of diehards may be completely isolated. Reversals there must inevitably be, but they will cause no great harm, because the class enemy will not get away from the palms of the people and the initiative is entirely in our hands. If the class enemy should make trouble again, we shall mobilize the masses to strike them down once again.

In the course of struggle against the enemy, in the light of the nature of the crimes of the class enemies, the state of their confessions and their behavior following their repentance, they may be given different outlets so as to win over the majority of them and transform them into new people gradually through labor. This is a policy Chairman Mao has consistently followed. He said: "As regards the reactionary classes and the reactionaries, after their political power has been overthrown and provided that they do not rebel, do not carry out disruptive activities or make trouble, they too should be given land and work so that they may live, transform themselves through labor, and become new people." ("On the People's Democratic Dictatorship") This policy is conducive to narrowing the scope of attack and shaking the enemy camp; it is favorable to winning over and educating the dependents and relatives and friends of the enemies and to completely isolating and dealing more effective blows at the very small number of diehards. However, it is impermissible to construe the policy of "giving a way out" as giving up the struggle against the class enemies. On the contrary, this policy makes it easier to divide and disintegrate the enemies and to defeat and destroy the enemies. Having done this, we shall greatly consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Practice Democracy Among the People and Rely on the Masses to Exercise Dictatorship

In order to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie and to continue the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, it is imperative that the working class assume the leadership (through the Communist Party), that the worker-peasant alliance be consolidated, that the broadest sections of the revolutionary masses be aroused and that all forces that can be united with be won over and united with. In other words, it is imperative to carry out the people's democratic dictatorship.

Our great leader Chairman Mao teaches us: "The combination of these aspects, democracy for the people and dictatorship over the reactionaries, is the people's democratic dictatorship." ("On the People's Democratic Dictatorship") The dictatorship of the proletariat is a dictatorship of the overwhelming majority of the people over a very small minority. "For the masses of the people, a government of the people's democratic dictatorship led by the Communist Party is not dictatorial or autocratic but democratic." ("Why Must We Discuss the White Paper?") We must not for a moment forget that our power is given us by "the working class, the poor and lower-middle peasants, the laboring masses comprising over 90 percent of the population." Only by practicing democracy among the people, protecting the people, fully arousing the masses and making the cadres accept supervision by the masses, can the dictatorship of the proletariat have the deepest and most solid mass basis, can an effective dictatorship be exercised over the enemy and an effective reforming of the enemy be carried out by relying on the people.

Particular attention should be paid to the alliance between the working class and the peasantry. Seizure of political power relies on the worker-peasant alliance under the leadership of the Communist Party, and consolidation of political power still needs to rely on the worker-peasant alliance. Given the worker-peasant alliance led by the Communist Party and using this alliance as the basis for uniting all those who support socialism and love our socialist motherland, the dictatorship of the proletariat will be constantly consolidated.

China's great proletarian cultural revolution has been conducted by applying the method of socialist democracy under the dictatorship of the proletariat and by fully arousing the masses. It is the widest and the most deep-going movement of proletarian democracy and the most effective dictatorship of the masses over the enemy. Our great leader Chairman Mao points out: "In the past we waged struggles in rural areas, in factories, in the cultural field, and we carried out the socialist education movement. But all this failed to solve the problem because we did not find a form, a method, to arouse the broad masses to expose our dark aspect openly, in an all-round way and from below."

The great proletarian cultural revolution initiated and led by Chairman Mao has created a good form for carrying out the socialist revolution and consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat. The experience of the great proletarian cultural revolution proves that it is only by arousing the masses in their hundreds of millions to air their views freely, write

big-character posters and hold great debates that the renegades, enemy agents and capitalist roaders who wormed their way into the Party can be exposed and their plots to restore capitalism smashed and effective dictatorship exercised over the handful of class enemies. This has extremely far-reaching historic significance for the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Proletarian democracy in the great proletarian cultural revolution, far from weakening centralism, constantly strengthens it; far from weakening proletarian discipline, it constantly strengthens it. The "three-in-one" revolutionary committees brought into being through democratic consultations on the basis of widely soliciting the opinions of the masses, are a great creation of the working class and the hundreds of millions of revolutionary people in the course of their struggle to seize power from the handful of capitalist roaders within the Party. These organs of power have a broad mass base. Guided by Mao Tsetung thought, they can fully concentrate the wisdom and strength of the revolutionary masses and become authoritative institutions of the dictatorship of the proletariat which, under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party, lead the revolutionary masses in fighting against the class enemy.

Chairman Mao points out: "At the present stage, the period of building socialism, the classes, strata and social groups which favor, support and work for the cause of socialist construction all come within the category of the people, while the social forces and groups which resist the socialist revolution and are hostile to or sabotage socialist construction are all enemies of the people." ("On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People") Making a strict distinction between the people and the enemy is the basis of all the policies under the dictatorship of the proletariat. We cannot attain the goal of strengthening the dictatorship of the proletariat if we have only the desire to strengthen it without drawing a clear line of distinction between the people and the enemy and without correctly differentiating and handling the contradictions among the people and those between the enemy and ourselves.

Social phenomena are complicated. In some circumstances it is easy to differentiate the two different types of contradictions, those among the people and those between the enemy and ourselves. In other circumstances it is difficult to do so. Why? "The question is that those who are guilty of ideological errors are mixed up with those whose contradictions with us are contradictions between the enemy and ourselves, and it is momentarily impossible to separate them." But if only we firmly take the proletarian stand, insist on taking Mao Tsetung thought as the sharp weapon with which to study problems, persist in conducting investigation and research and in class analysis, and cling to the proletarian Party spirit, the mass line, and the Party's policies in doing things, we are capable of differentiating and handling well the two different types of contradictions.

It is noteworthy that the small handful of class enemies always attempt to confuse the line of demarcation between the enemy and ourselves and to muddy the water. Faced with such a situation, we must first of all master the general orientation of struggle, strengthen the revolutionary great unity,

get united and turn the spearhead accurately against the enemy in order to solve the problems between the enemy and ourselves before we should proceed to handle the questions of right and wrong among the people.

Within the revolutionary ranks it is also imperative to guard against interference of erroneous ideas from the Right or from the "Left." Just as Chairman Mao points out: "People with Right-inclined thinking do not distinguish between the enemy and ourselves; instead, they take the enemy as ourselves. They regard as friends those people the broad masses regard as enemies. On the other hand, people with the 'Left'-inclined ideas tend to aggravate the contradictions between the enemy and ourselves, with the result that certain contradictions among the people are also looked upon as contradictions between the enemy and ourselves and certain persons who are not counter-revolutionaries are regarded as counter-revolutionaries." ("On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People.")

Whether it is the case of failing to distinguish between enemy and ourselves or taking enemy for ourselves or it is the case of aggravating the contradictions between the enemy and ourselves, invariably it transposes the relationship between the enemy and ourselves, with consequences unfavorable to the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Under the leadership of the Communist Party, rely on the broad revolutionary masses to exercise dictatorship over the handful of class enemies--this is a great development of the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat made by Chairman Mao; this is an important part of the content of Chairman Mao's theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. To carry this out in the struggle against the enemy, it is necessary to combine the leadership with the masses, fully rely on the masses, boldly arouse the masses, do a good job of investigation and study, and vigorously fight a people's war. Diametrically opposed to this proletarian revolutionary line of Chairman Mao's is the counter-revolutionary revisionist line followed by Liu Shao-ch'i, P'eng Chen, Lo Jui-ch'ing, and their associates. Energetically promoting mysticism, isolationism, and close-doorism, Liu Shao-ch'i and company opposed the revolutionary mass movement. And two different lines produce two different effects. Where Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line is executed, the struggle against the enemy is conducted in a vigorous and practical way, prominent results are gained, the revolutionary masses are in high spirits, and the enemies dare not make trouble. Where mysticism is promoted, the struggle against the enemy is conducted sluggishly, and even what is right is confused with what is wrong, the masses are harmed, and the enemies are let loose. While relying on the dictatorship of the masses, we must still require specialized work. But specialized work must also follow the mass line. When the mass line is organically integrated with specialized work, a net will be laid for the struggle against the enemy, and no tricky enemy can escape from it.

The people constitute the overwhelming majority, comprising over 95 percent of the population. The class enemies constitute a very tiny minority and are scattered among the masses. Provided the masses are aroused, and everyone supervises the enemy, the situation will be as Chairman Mao points out: "The former exploiting classes have been completely swamped in

the boundless ocean of the working people and must change, even if unwillingly. Undoubtedly there are people who will never change, who would prefer to keep their thinking ossified down to the day of judgment, but that does not matter very much." ("Introducing a Cooperative")

Hold Aloft the Great Red Banner of Mao Tsetung Thought and Strengthen Party Leadership

Our great leader Chairman Mao teaches us: "The force at the core leading our cause forward is the Chinese Communist Party." "The theoretical basis guiding our thinking is Marxism-Leninism." ("Opening Address to the First Session of the First National People's Congress of the People's Republic of China")

The Communist Party is the highest form of proletarian class organization and is the core of the proletarian State power. The guiding thinking of the proletarian State power is Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. The Party Central Committee with Chairman Mao as its leader and Vice Chairman Lin as its deputy leader is the sole leading center for the whole Party, the whole army and the people throughout the country. We must closely rally around the Party Central Committee and will not tolerate any other center.

The renegade, hidden traitor and scab Liu Shao-ch'i stated brazenly: "All mass work and mass struggle must be unified under the leadership of mass organizations so as to unify power in handling matters. The Party, the Government and the army can only lend a helping hand, not lead them." His purpose was to use reactionary anarchism, unionism and the theory of "many centers," that is, the theory of "no center", to oppose Party leadership, abolish the dictatorship of the proletariat and exercise the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. Weakening Party leadership means weakening the dictatorship of the proletariat; renouncing Party leadership means renouncing the dictatorship of the proletariat. He will certainly go astray who thinks that the dictatorship of the proletariat can exist independently of the Communist Party leadership, or that a certain part of the instrument of the dictatorship of the proletariat can be independent of Party leadership, or metaphysically sets the mass line against Party leadership.

Vice Chairman Lin says: "China is a great socialist State of the dictatorship of the proletariat and has a population of 700 million. It needs unified thinking, revolutionary thinking, correct thinking. That is Mao Tsetung thought. Only with this thinking can we maintain vigorous revolutionary enthusiasm and a firm and correct political orientation." ("A Letter on the Creative Study and Application of Chairman Mao's Works on the Industrial and Communications Front") "The entire history of our Party has borne out this truth: Departing from the leadership of Chairman Mao and Mao Tsetung thought, our Party will suffer setbacks and defeats; following Chairman Mao closely and acting on Mao Tsetung thought, our Party will advance and triumph. We must forever remember this lesson" ("Report to the 9th National Congress of the Chinese Communist Party")

In our country, Party leadership is leadership by Chairman Mao, leadership by Mao Tsetung thought and leadership by Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line. The strengthening of Party leadership, therefore, requires that we hold aloft the great red banner of Mao Tsetung thought, carry on the mass movement for the living study and application of Mao Tsetung thought in an extensive, deep-going and sustained way, arm the masses and cadres with Mao Tsetung thought and use Mao Tsetung thought to keep firm hold of power and exercise it well. Thus the Party organizations and revolutionary committees at all levels can always advance victoriously along Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line. This is the most fundamental guarantee for the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat in our country.

On the question of for whom to hold power, Mao Tsetung thought holds a point of view diamentrically opposite to those of all bourgeois ideological trends. Chairman Mao teaches us: "Serve the people wholeheartedly and never for a moment divorce ourselves from the masses." ("On Coalition Government") The proletariat regards power as belonging to the Party, the people and the class. To hold power is to use it as an instrument serving the people, the Chinese revolution and the world revolution. According to the bourgeois viewpoints, power is regarded as belonging to a person, a small faction or a small group, and holding power is regarded as a means for seeking fame and fortune for a person, a small faction or a small group. We must act on this question in line with Mao Tsetung thought and resolutely resist the corrosion by all reactionary bourgeois viewpoints of proletarian political power.

The petty bourgeoisie is an ally of the proletariat. Under the Party's firm leadership, it is one of the revolutionary motive forces. Also, the petty bourgeoisie is a reserve army of the bourgeoisie; in fact, the petty bourgeois world outlook is the bourgeois world outlook. The petty bourgeois anarchism is a kind of reactionary bourgeois idea aimed at undermining revolutionary discipline and sapping the unity of the revolutionary ranks. It confuses the line of demarcation between proletarian revolutionary discipline and the slave mentality of the exploiting classes, the demarcation between socialist democracy under the dictatorship of the proletariat and bourgeois "liberalization," and the demarcation between proletarian dictatorship and bourgeois dictatorship. It is often used by the class enemy to split the unity of the revolutionary forces and undermine the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Our great leader Chairman Mao teaches us: "It is necessary for us to be good at guiding the petty bourgeois ideas in our ranks into the orbit of the proletarian revolution. This is a key question for the great proletarian cultural revolution to win its victory." This instruction of Chairman Mao's is extremely vital not only to winning the victory of the great proletarian cultural revolution but also to the consolidation of the proletarian dictatorship and conducting our ideological and political work. We must be good at doing this work of guidance well.

"The sense of discipline grows stronger, and the revolution will be ever victorious." This is a great truth. We must strengthen Party

leadership, raise the consciousness of the Party and exercise unified leadership by Mao Tsetung thought. We must hold aloft the banner of revolutionary mass criticism and use Mao Tsetung thought to criticize the bourgeoisie, to criticize revisionism, to criticize and overcome all kinds of erroneous Right or ultra "Left" ideas which run counter to Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, to criticize bourgeois individualism and to criticize the theory of "many centers," that is, the theory of "no center." We must strengthen the proletarian revolutionary spirit, scientific approach and sense of organization and discipline and consciously use Mao Tsetung thought to attain "unity in thinking, policy, plan, command and action."

Carry Out the Fundamental Task of Consolidating the Dictatorship of the Proletariat in Every Basic Unit

The great proletarian cultural revolution is a great political revolution carried out by the proletariat against the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes. It has thoroughly exposed and smashed the plot to restore capitalism hatched by the renegade, hidden traitor and scab Liu Shao-ch'i and company and seized back into the hands of the proletariat that portion of power of leadership they had usurped. The great victory of the great proletarian cultural revolution has tremendously strengthened the dictatorship of the proletariat in our country politically, ideologically and organizationally. Just as our great leader Chairman Mao states penetratingly: "The current great proletarian cultural revolution is absolutely necessary and most timely for consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat, preventing capitalist restoration and building socialism." The cultural revolution has opened a bright road in the history of the international communist movement for consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat and carrying the socialist revolution through to the end.

As Chairman Mao has pointed out, the most important thing in consolidating and developing the tremendous achievements of the great proletarian cultural revolution is to carry out the fundamental task of consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat in every basic unit. The basic unit is very important. It is located in the front line of the three great revolutionary struggles. The various policies and principles of the Party have to be implemented through the basic unit. The opinions and demands of the broad revolutionary masses have to be reflected to the above through the basic unit. The basic unit engages in close-quarter fight with the class enemy. And a small handful of class enemies try to transform the society by relying on the basic unit. Whether the various tasks of struggle-criticism-transformation in the great proletarian cultural revolution, namely, as Chairman Mao points out, "the setting up of three-in-one revolutionary committees, unfolding of mass criticism, screening of class ranks, consolidation of the Party, simplification of administrative structures, reform of irrational rules and regulations, sending office personnel to the lower level", etc.--whether these various tasks can be implemented in an all-round manner must also depend on the results of work in the basic unit.

For this reason, as regards the above tasks, where they have not been done well or have not been completed, it is imperative to persist in doing

them well and finishing them by separate stages. To consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat, we must in real earnest do a large amount of hard work for struggle-criticism-transformation in the basic unit. We must not relax our effort and complete these tasks perfunctorily.

To carry out the basic task of consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat in every basic unit, it is necessary to grasp firmly the building of leading bodies at the basic level and promote their revolutionization. The leading body means political power. Where there is a good leading body and the power of leadership at the basic level is truly in the hands of the proletariat, it is possible to arm the revolutionary masses with Mao Tsetung thought, establish the hegemony of the workers and the poor and lower-middle peasants, closely follow Chairman Mao's great strategic plan and victoriously fulfill all tasks in struggle-criticism-transformation. The key to this is using Chairman Mao's great theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat to consolidate and build primary Party organizations.

In his political report to the 9th Party Congress Vice Chairman Lin points out: "Departing from the dictatorship of the proletariat and from continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, it is impossible to solve correctly the question of Party building, the question of building what kind of Party and how to build it." The victory of the great proletarian cultural revolution can be consolidated and developed still further only by having as the core of the leading bodies vigorous Party organizations composed of the advanced elements of the proletariat and capable of leading the proletariat and the revolutionary masses in fighting against the class enemy.

This is a hundred-year plan for consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat. In accordance with our great leader Chairman Mao's teachings and the various stipulations of the "Constitution of the Communist Party of China," we must meticulously and practically proceed with the work of consolidating and building the Party in every factory, every commune, every school, every unit, and every Party branch. We must sum up the experience in this respect in time, develop the achievements, overcome the shortcomings, and carry out the basic task of consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat in every basic unit and carry through the socialist revolution through to the end.

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Down with the Slavish Compradore Philosophy

by

Chao Hsien-p'ing (赵先平)

(Hung-ch'i [Red Flag], No. 4, March 31, 1970)

In the first spring of the 70's, under great leader Chairman Mao's call--"Be prepared against war, be prepared against natural disasters and do everything for the people"--revolutionary workers of many factories in Shanghai are fighting a joint battle to transform the foundation industries. In the course of battle, many things that could not have been done in the past were done and many things that would have required a long time in the past were done within a short time. Shanghai, like other parts of China, is witnessing heart-stirring victories won one after another.

It is a struggle between the two classes and the two lines and a triumph won by Chairman Mao's great strategic policy of "independence, initiative and self-reliance" over renegade, hidden traitor and scab Liu Shao-ch'i's slavish compradore philosophy and principle of crawling at snail's pace.

Before the joint battle began, some units, which were influenced by Liu Shao-ch'i's revisionist line on industry, would ask for state aid as soon as they received an assignment to turn out "high-quality, precision and advanced" products: they wanted big, high plant buildings and complete and foreign equipment. Some even worked out this formula: "High-quality, precision and advanced" products presuppose "foreign, big and complete" equipment; without "foreign, big and complete" equipment, no "high-quality, precision and advanced" products.

Can it be said that the Chinese working class armed with Mao Tsetung thought may accept this formula of crawling behind the foreigners? Absolutely not. The dialectics of revolution tells us that things always move gradually from the lower level to the high level and that backward and small equipment is first introduced and then used to turn out advanced, big products. Chairman Mao teaches us: "What is decisive is man, not things." ("On Protracted War") "Under the leadership of the Communist Party, as long as there are people any miracle in the world can be performed." ("The Bankruptcy of the Idealist Conception of History") Before doing a thing we should fulfill definite material conditions but, what is more important, we should take into account the subjective activity of the revolutionary people led by the Party and the boundless revolutionary enthusiasm latent among the masses. Before the great proletarian cultural revolution, Liu Shao-ch'i, with a view to turning some key factories into "models" for the restoration of capitalism, allowed them to squander money at will and offer "material incentives" as long as the things they created could provide his revisionist industrial line with political capital. This line ate into the will of some cadres and the masses. Today, we must make a clean sweep of this "Liuist poison" before we can do a good job to transform the foundation industries. "Factory buildings are decisive," "equipment is decisive" and "investment is decisive"--these

viewpoints negate the command of proletarian politics--are manifestations of "Liuist poison" in production and construction and must be thoroughly repudiated and stamped out.

Those who have a fancy for "foreign, big and complete" equipment are brimful of selfish and impure ideas. Upon receipt of an important assignment, they would take it as a rare opportunity to ask for state aid and would try to "arm" their unit, department and system comprehensively so that they will grow in size and scope and "can do everything without seeking the help of others." This thinking is entirely contrary to the policy of "self-reliance" and "arduous struggle." It is a manifestation of isolationism that runs counter to the development of modern industry. As a matter of fact, no big factory, department or system in modern industry can "do everything without the help of others." To provide a complete set of equipment, it would be necessary to promote cooperation among various factories, to combine the big, the medium and the small and to develop the indigenous and the modern simultaneously. Without the coordination of the mining, transportation and power industries, can the steel industry produce steel? Without the cooperation of the big, medium and small factories in metallurgical, electrical and scientific instrument industries, can the ship-building industry make a ship? "Seeking the help of others" is virtually a question of what people to be relied upon and a question of whether to rely on the bourgeoisie or on the proletariat. If you want the "foreign, big and complete" in everything and want to "do everything without seeking the help of others," then you will have no alternative but to beg for help from the bourgeoisie and become slaves to the foreigners. We rely on the Chinese proletariat armed with Mao Tsetung thought and on ourselves for promoting socialist cooperation and launching vigorous and down-to-earth mass movements.

After our factories taking part in this joint battle decided on an important project, we, instead of hurriedly distributing investments and placing orders for equipment as was done in the past, held a field conference in the first instance at the Shanghai Woolen Blanket Factory No. 3 which manifested the revolutionary spirit of the proletariat and put forth vigorous efforts to change the "poor and blank" features of our fatherland. We roundly repudiated Liu Shao-ch'i's revisionist line on industry and the mentality of "putting profit in command," "providing material incentives" and "seeking the modern, the big and the complete." Some factories hastened to transmit the message to the masses and mobilized the masses to repudiate the bourgeois mentality of "blackmailing the State." On this basis we carried out a mass check-up on the investments and equipment called for in the project. We struck out all the marginal investments and planned to make all the equipment that may be obtained from the State or made by ourselves. This approach gave a profound education to those cadres and technicians who had a fancy for the "foreign, big and complete."

Some ask this question: Considering the way you criticize "desire the big and seek the foreign" and "desire the big and seek the complete," do you mean that everything "big" is not desirable? This way of presenting the question is wrong. We judge "bigness" not by its appearance but by its class content. In building socialism, we "love" socialist "bigness" and are "fond" of socialist "merit." As Chairman Mao points out in the "Constitution of the

Anshan Iron and Steel Company," the proletarian enterprises will keep politics in command; strengthen party leadership; launch vigorous mass movements; institute the system of cadre participation in productive labor and worker participation in management, of reform of irrational and outdated rules and regulations, and of close cooperation among cadres, workers and technicians; and go full steam ahead with the technical revolution. The proletarian enterprises will take big strides to attain and top the world advanced level and leave the foreign bourgeoisie far behind. But the "bigness" in the context of the "foreign, big and complete" means bourgeois extravagance and showness. Those who love this "bigness" show no revolutionary spirit of daring to think and act in the interest of the proletarian cause of revolution, and have no "ambitious" aim of the Chinese people to make greater contributions to mankind. What kind of "bigness" is this?!

During this joint battle, a large factory got an assignment to trial-manufacture and produce a special high-grade alloy plate. Under the pretext that "it is an advanced product in the world," the factory arranged for several technicians to draw up a plan according to "foreign rules." Their plan called for new factory buildings with a floor space of 5,500 square meters and 6,500,000 yuan investment. The plan envisaged completing the blueprint in one year, completing the factory buildings in two years and turning out products in three years. It was indeed a very "big" plan! But how about the revolutionary spirit of the proletariat? Not a bit was manifested. Later, this plan was sent to six small factories whose premises were small and equipment was poor but which were brimful of revolutionary spirit, and revolutionary workers of these small factories were invited to examine the plan. Taking this "foreign, big and complete" plan as a living target, comrades workers repudiated Liu Shao-ch'i's slavish compradore philosophy and principle of crawling at snail's pace. Manifesting the revolutionary spirit of the proletariat, they took the easy way and adopted the indigenous method. The result was that in four days and four nights, they successfully trial-made this high-grade alloy plate; in less than three months, they began mass production after spending several hundred thousand yuan on conversion of their equipment.

Here we find two lines and two plans. In one case, it took three months' time and cost several hundred thousand yuan. In the other case, it would take three years and cost several million yuan. Does not this striking contrast destroy the "big" frames of the "foreign, big and complete"? Does it not pronounce bankruptcy of the slavish compradore philosophy?

To be sure, we do not mean that big factories and necessary big equipment are not required. What we advocate is combination of the big, the medium and the small with the big as the backbone, combination of indigenous and foreign methods, and mutual-aid and help between fraternal factories. In this battle for transforming the foundation industries, many large factories followed Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and played their part as the backbone. Yet, these large factories did not pride themselves on being the older and the bigger. On the contrary, they never gave up the revolutionary spirit of the proletariat and they took the initiative in giving priority support to the medium and small fraternal factories.

They behaved like school children in the presence of the advanced medium and small factories and even in the presence of hsien and commune factories, learning all their merits and forever maintaining their revolutionary vigor.

Another manifestation of the slavish compradore philosophy is the implicit faith put in foreign data. In the eyes of some people, all data on foreign industrial technology are called "documents," and "documents" are "bases." When they find no such "bases" they dare not move a half step forward. When they find such "bases" they regard every word as the law, literally copy and transplant them; they refrain from making any alteration even if they have long been disproved.

Where do we find the basis of socialist construction? We can only find the basis from Marxism, Leninism, and Mao Tsetung thought, from the rich revolutionary practice of the Chinese people in their hundreds of millions. Chairman Mao made it very clear long ago that we must break the foreign rules and traverse our own road to industrial development. Under present conditions, "foreign documents" consist mainly of things of the capitalist and revisionist countries. Since the production technique of these countries is restricted by the reactionary, decadent capitalist relations of production, many things are marked by abnormal development and must not be copied and transplanted as they are. Even if there is a little advanced technology that can be used for our reference, it must not be regarded as immutable, still less may it be taken as the highest "criterion" for the development of industrial technology. Copying foreign data as the basis for the development of China's industrial technology is an idea of stagnation, idea of pessimism, idea of inertia, crawling at snail's pace in science and technology, and a slavish compradore philosophy.

Here we have to make it clear that we are not against consulting foreign data. We should, as far as possible, appropriate all the necessary data, including the data of foreign countries. We should learn, with an open mind, the merits of all nations and conscientiously learn the advanced creations by the working people of various countries; under no circumstances should we move in the old rut. However, what we should learn is excellencies, not defects; even the excellencies of foreign countries can only be taken as something to be compared with and should be transformed in light of the actual conditions of our country and should be marked by the revolutionary style peculiar to the Chinese proletariat.

During the joint battle, comrades workers from some ten small factories resolved to make a revolution in tan-ching-lu [單晶炉]--key equipment in the electronic industry, which we had all along copied from foreign countries--and to make a new tan-ching-lu of the Chinese type. On hearing this, an engineer frightened the workers with "foreign documents," saying it was absolutely impossible to accomplish this task. Comrades workers rebuked him, saying: "If foreigners apply addition, can't we apply multiplication? Nine ones added up is 9, and 3 multipled by 3 is also 9, isn't it? Now that the State has an urgent need, we will take our own road and make it in two years!" Some blew cold wind, saying: "The specialized plant copies not more than 10 units in three years. You want to make it in

two years. Even gods dare not think of this!" What was the upshot? In a matter of only 13 days they made the first tan-ching-lu of the Chinese type and in another 50 days they made 50 units. The workers made these heroic remarks: "With Mao Tsetung thought the working class is more 'divine' than 'divinity!'"

Keeping secrets is an important thing. Our working class is fully aware that keeping secrets is in the fundamental interest of our State. Because of this, we must exercise extra care and keep secrets not 99 percent but 100 percent. What should not be disseminated among the masses must not be disseminated and spread: this rule is dictated by the need of revolution and must be strictly carried out. The class enemy and imperialism, revisionism and reaction must be prevented from stealing our secrets. Yet, some people pay no attention to keeping secrets of the proletariat. They do not stamp out the counter-revolutionary elements and enemy agents who steal our state secrets and collaborate with foreign countries, and yet they keep secrets from the proletariat. Some self-styled "experts" monopolize technical data and do not allow Chinese workers to know things known to foreign bourgeoisie, thereby veiling themselves in mystery. Once the working class masters and keeps these "secrets," their trick will be found out. Is theirs a true or false way of keeping secrets? To all intents and purposes, they are handicapping us and rendering service to imperialism, revisionism and reaction. In the joint battle we criticized this erroneous mentality of "mystifying" technology and freely mobilized the masses, briefed the workers concerned on the political, ideological and technical problems, brought into full play the wisdom and talent of the worker masses, and urged them to exhaust all means to overcome the technical difficulties. At the same time, the workers were taught to raise their revolutionary vigilance, to recognize the importance of keeping Party and State secrets, to wage struggle properly against the enemy and to build a bastion of iron to bar the enemy from any secret.

"Every kind of work calls for a mass movement. Without a mass movement nothing can be done." The development of "high-quality, precision and advanced" products is no exception. Facts prove that only by relying on the strength of the masses can we break foreign rules and develop "high-quality, precision and advanced" products with greater, faster, better and more economical results. In this joint battle to transform the foundation industries, we presevered in revolutionary mass criticism and repudiation and formed a "three-in-one combination" of leaders, workers and technicians in undertaking each project. As soon as it was manifested the slavish compradore mentality was subjected to mass criticism and repudiation. Upon its emergence, the "foreign, big and advanced" plan was boycotted by the masses. It was really a case of everybody shouting 'kill' at the rat running across the street. To be sure, a single struggle of this kind does not settle everything once and for all; it will be necessary to wage the struggle over and over again and to the end.

Chairman Mao teaches us: "The Chinese people have the will and ability and will certainly attain and top the world advanced level in the not distant future." In accord with Chairman Mao's teaching, Shanghai's working class will resolutely implement the great policy of "independence, initiative and self-reliance," bury the principle of crawling at snail's pace, eliminate the slavish compradore philosophy, destroy the "taboos," storm the "prohibited area," forge ahead along China's road of industrial development as indicated by Chairman Mao, and seize new victories on the industrial front! (The writers of this article are the working personnel of Shanghai Municipal Revolutionary Committee)

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Pay Attention to Multi-Purpose Utilization

by

Yü Hung (于宏)

(Hung-ch'i [Red Flag], No. 4, March 31, 1970)

Hung-ch'i Editor's Note:

Great leader Chairman Mao has pointed out: "Socialism has set free not only the laborers and the means of production but also the great nature the old society found it impossible to utilize. The masses have boundless creative power. They can organize themselves and concentrate on places and branches of work where they can give full play to their energy; they can concentrate on production in breadth and depth and create more and more undertakings for their own well-being." The multi-purpose utilization proposed in this article is one of the important problems in implementing Chairman Mao's instruction.

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At the moment, a mass movement for practicing rigid economy is in full swing on the industrial front. Closely following Chairman Mao's great strategic plan, the worker masses, revolutionary cadres and revolutionary technicians are resolutely combating the evil bourgeois practice of extravagance and are maintaining and extending the proletarian fine tradition of thrift and arduous struggle. They are carrying class struggle to the end in the political, ideological and economic fields. This movement is of momentous significance to the consolidation of the socialist economic base, to the strengthening of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and to the intensification of war preparations.

On the road to production increase and economy, we should, as Chairman Mao teaches us, go on discovering, inventing, creating and advancing (Quotations from Chairman Mao, p. 174) Paying attention to multi-purpose utilizations is an important problem. Chairman Mao's instructions on multi-purpose utilization constitute one of the important measures for developing the socialist production with greater, faster, better and more economical results and for combating waste in industrial production.

However, some comrades still do not fully understand this problem. In their opinion, the so-called "four wastes," namely, "waste" materials, "waste" water, "waste" gas and "waste" heat are all "wastes" that cannot be utilized.

Is their view correct?

From the metaphysical point of view, "wastes" are always "wastes" and cannot be transformed and utilized. From the viewpoint of dialectical

materialism, things can be transformed under given conditions and "wastes" can be transformed into "treasures." A thing can often be used for multi-purposes. A thing appears to be "useless" under one condition but is very useful under the other. Before one knows it, it is a "waste" but, after it is known and transformed, it can be changed into a treasure. "Socialism has set free not only the laborers and the means of production but also the great nature the old society found it impossinle to utilize." (Comment on "An Outlet Found for Superfluous Labor Power") The socialist system, which is infinitely superior, has created very favorable conditions and opened a broad outlet for multi-purpose utilization of "four wastes" and utilization of the great nature.

There are two diametrically opposed policies toward the "four wastes." There is the counter-revolutionary revisionist line of renegade, hidden traitor and scab Liu Shao-ch'i. Following this line, production completely proceeds from profit without taking into consideration the utilization of "four wastes" which are disposed of in negative ways. There is Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line. Following this line, production proceeds from the building of socialism with greater, faster, better and more economical results and from the strengthening of the dictatorship of the proletariat. This line calls for "practice rigid economy and combat waste," tapping of all latent power to the limit, and a positive policy of multi-purpose utilization toward the "four wastes."

For example, for a time a timber yard used only whole timber for making doors and windows, and quantities of timber ends and shavings were consigned to fire; their utilization of timber reached only 37 percent. Later, under the guidance of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and revolutionary masses of this timber yard combated the counter-revolutionary revisionist line, repudiated the metaphysical view of the bourgeoisie and devised ways and means to use the timber for multi-purposes. Using "wastes" as raw materials, they turned out products like wood-thread boards, shavings boards, and fibre boards. Their utilization of timber reached 79.2 percent. More than 20,000 cubic meters of timber can be saved for the State each year. The workers were glad to say: "Multi-purpose utilization is so wonderful that 'wastes' are changed into treasures."

Some factories threw away as "wastes" many things that could be transformed and utilized. The workers were sad to say: "This would mean throwing away not only the wealth of the State but also the glorious tradition of thrift and the revolutionary spirit of the working class."

Two different attitude toward the "four wastes" reflect two different ideologies and styles. With the proletarian ideology and style of thrift, one will change the "useless" into the "useful" and "waste" into wealth. With the bourgeois ideology and style of extravagance, one will change the "useful" into the "useless" and regards wealth as "waste." Moreover, simple "disposal" of the "four wastes" often does not lead to full solution to the problem. On the other hand, multi-purpose utilization can make the "four wastes" serve the socialist revolution and socialist construction.

So far as an enterprise is concerned, multi-purpose utilization means a great economy as well as a great increase in production. Some people claim that multi-purpose utilization is not "worthwhile" because "little can be gained." If, without asking for any raw materials and semi-finished products from the State, we spend a little energy, fully utilize the available manpower, materials and equipment and change simple products into multiple products and change "wastes" into treasures, thereby saving materials for the State and creating more wealth, are we not doing what is "quite worthwhile"? A pharmaceutical plant which promoted multi-purpose utilization of materials discovered that more than 40 kinds of things among the "four wastes" could be utilized. The broad masses of workers and revolutionary technicians waged an arduous struggle for multi-purpose utilization of materials; their six utilization programs alone could increase the State income by 950,000 yuan a year. Thus, multi-purpose utilization can "gain much," can't it?

"In multi-purpose utilization of materials, we may not take the easy way but should have everything well-arranged." Those comrades who think in these terms are not accustomed to taking the easy way, to adopting indigenous method and to promoting multi-purpose utilization. They maintain that, if multi-purpose utilization is to be promoted, it would be necessary for the State to make investments and provide more equipment.

As to the question of whether a thing is well arranged or not, different classes judge it by different standards. The proletariat maintains that the proper way of running the socialist enterprises is to take the easy way, adopt indigenous methods, exert concerted efforts to promote multi-purpose utilization, create more material wealth for the State and fully embody the spirit of the working class as the master in accord with the principle of "practicing economy and doing more things with less money" laid down by Chairman Mao in his "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions among the People." On the other hand, to desire the big and seek the foreign invariably and to ask for investments and equipment indiscriminately are virtually styles of young bourgeois masters and the ways of running revisionist enterprises. The proletariat will definitely not take this "way."

Whether multi-purpose utilization is regarded as being well-arranged or not is essentially a matter of attitude: either the attitude of "one who uses his hand" and persists in self-reliance, or the attitude of "one who stretches out his hand" and asks the State for this and that. Two different attitudes will yield two different results.

When a vinylon plant began multi-purpose utilization of materials, some one expressed his opinion in these terms: "The whole set of our equipment is new and, if some junk is added to it, our equipment will look like a 'new garment with patches' and our plant will look unseemly." The workers gave the critic this resounding answer: "We add some junk for the purpose of serving the socialist construction better: this does look seemly." With indigenous and foreign methods combined, multi-purpose utilization achieved good results. The vinylon shop was originally designed in such a way that a large amount of acid and aldehyde would flow away without being utilized.

With the technology reformed and some indigenous equipment added, four tons of sulphuric acid and 300 kg of formaldehyde can be recovered and five tons of lime stone can be saved each day, which would mean saving more than 200,000 yuan for the State each year.

For another example, a drawing, cutting and spinning shop used to import leather boards from foreign countries. Later, indigenous methods were adopted and wastes were used as materials; high-quality and low-cost leather boards were made, saving foreign exchange amounting to more than 80,000 yuan a year.

Capitalist-roaders in a factory invariably sought the "big" and "foreign," stretched out their hands for aid and discarded the indigenous methods. The result was that they waited for ten years without building the "foreign" and meantime they lost the "indigenous." The worker masses said in anger: "This is not multi-purpose utilization aimed at increasing production and practicing economy. It is an act to undermine the foundation of socialism." Facts show that those who seek extravagant things cannot be expected to make a good job of multi-purpose utilization.

Multi-purpose utilization should rest on one's own action and on existing facilities. If you can adopt the foreign, then adopt the foreign; if not, then adopt the indigenous develop the indigenous into the foreign and combine the indigenous and the foreign. Scope should be enlarged if possible; if it is not possible to enlarge the scope, then adopt the small scope, develop it into a big scope, and do the easy first and the difficult second. The key to self-reliance lies in mobilizing and relying on the masses. As long as Chairman Mao's policy of multi-purpose utilization is mastered by the revolutionary masses, it will be translated into a tremendous force and many things which require state investments and more equipment can be done by the revolutionary masses through self-reliance. In the process of developing multi-purpose utilization, we should fully display the role of close cooperation among the workers, revolutionary cadres and revolutionary technicians, study technology, promote technical innovation and dare to scale the pinnacle of science and technology. In this way, we shall be able to give a stronger impetus to the development of multi-purpose utilization.

In developing multi-purpose utilization, we must grasp the struggle between the two classes, the two roads and the two lines, implement Chairman Mao's great policy of multi-purpose utilization, unfold revolutionary mass criticism and repudiation and repudiate Liu Shao-ch'i's counter-revolutionary revisionist line and capitalist way of management. At the same time, we should criticize the idea of inertia and the idea of self-complacency in dealing with the question of "four wastes." We should integrate multi-purpose utilization with struggle-criticism-transformation on the industrial front, with the class struggle in the economic field, and with the preparations against war. Multi-purpose utilization is a positive measure for increasing production and practicing economy. In developing multi-purpose utilization we should fully display the superiority of the socialist planned economy and traverse our own road to industrial development.

Human knowledge of the objective material world is limitless, so is human transformation of the natural world. The point is that the laboring people really become masters of their own destiny. Look at the imperialist and revisionist countries and at the way the wealth created by the laboring people is exploited and wasted by the bourgeoisie under the capitalist relations of production. Did not Nixon, chieftain of American imperialism deplore not long ago in his "State of the Union Message" that the problem of "pollution" in the United States will "become insoluble" in the next decade? The decadent and declining capitalist system will "never be able to resolve" this contradiction. In our great socialist country of proletarian dictatorship, the broad masses of working people are concentrating on production in depth and breadth and making the latent material power increasingly tapped and utilized by the people. With Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line further implemented on the economic front and with revolutionary mass criticism and repudiation deepened, the flower of multi-purpose utilization will certainly bear more abundant fruits.

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The Proletarian Revolution in Education Has a Great Future

--Refuting the theory "there is no future for a teacher"

by

the Writing Group of the Chekiang Provincial Revolutionary Committee

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At the moment, the situation on the secondary and primary education front, as on other fronts, is excellent. The mass movement for teaching reform is developing in depth. Under the leadership of the Party, the broad masses of workers, peasants and soldiers, together with the revolutionary students and revolutionary teachers, are fighting with unflagging efforts to reform completely the front of school education with Mao Tsetung thought.

Our great leader Chairman Mao teaches us: "The question of teaching reform is mainly one of teachers." The teaching ranks have always been an important sector the proletariat and the bourgeoisie are competing to win over. The revolutionary teachers are charged with the glorious responsibility of fostering the revolutionary younger generation. To undermine the transformation of the world outlook of the teachers and sabotage the proletarian revolution in education, a handful of class enemies have created all kinds of fallacies, and one of these fallacies is that "there is no future for a teacher." A small number of our teachers with an inadequate understanding of this struggle also echo this line because they are not on the alert and are taking personal interest as the point of departure. This is quite wrong.

Different classes view the "future" in different light. The bourgeoisie always runs around in an endeavor to reap profits at the expense of others, work exclusively for profit and uphold its decadent exploitation system. This is the bourgeois future. The proletariat regards as its highest targets, the complete overthrow of the bourgeoisie and all exploiting classes, the substitution of bourgeois dictatorship with proletarian dictatorship, the overcoming of capitalist with socialism and the establishment of communism of struggle. This is the proletarian future.

By way of the great proletarian cultural revolution guided by Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, the feudal, bourgeois and revisionist educational systems have collapsed like a pack of cards, and the educational undertaking of the proletariat that had not emerged before in human society is vigorously developing. In this great historical mission, the revolutionary teachers are charged with the important responsibility of propagating the invincible Mao Tsetung thought, transforming the educational front with Mao Tsetung thought and fostering the revolutionary descendants of the proletariat. How can this be described as of "no future"? In this educational revolution, the broad masses of teachers transform their own world outlook with Mao Tsetung thought, free themselves from the spiritual

yoke of feudalism, capitalism and revisionism, take the broad road of forming one with the workers, peasants and soldiers, and strive to reform themselves as proletarian intellectuals. How can this be described as of "no future"? As a revolutionary teacher teaching for the revolution and for the consolidation of the proletarian dictatorship, when he links his own work with the whole, he will become broad-minded and very energetic, and there will a great future for him. Only isolated individuals who are taken possession of by bourgeois individualism and who hanker after the old form of education will lament that "there is no future for a teacher" in front of this excellent situation of the revolution in education.

At the time of this fundamental reform in the educational system, some comrades feel that "the old things are ruled out while the new things are beyond us." They say: "Now even if we want to run, we also have nowhere to go."

It should be said that a single leaf before the eyes of these comrades has blocked out the view of a mountain. The great leader Chairman Mao has long ago formulated for us a complete set of lines, general and specific policies and methods for the revolution in education and has pointed out for us the way forward. Since the great proletarian cultural revolution, a lot of successful experiences have been accumulated in educational reforms. Putting Mao Tsetung thought in command of teaching, the worker-peasant-soldier lecturer corps has set the example for us. The prospects of the proletarian revolution in education are very bright, and the future is very clear. Why is it then that some comrades still feel that "even if we want to run, we also have nowhere to go" and fail to see clearly the orientation of the revolution in education? The important reason is that although they feel that "the old things are ruled out," yet in ideology they have not truly destroyed the old things and freed themselves from the influence of feudal, bourgeois and revisionist education. As Lu Hsün said, these comrades "have still a nostalgia for the old although they call for reforms, and while fighting, they yearn for peace." Consequently, they stand still and are loath to go forward.

Chairman Mao teaches: "There is no construction without destruction. Destruction means criticism and repudiation, it means revolution. It involves reasoning things out, which is construction. Put destruction first, and in the process you have construction." Unless the old educational systems of feudalism, capitalism and revisionism are thoroughly criticized, repudiated and destroyed, there is no way to establish the new educational system of the proletariat. Practice shows that the more deep-going is the criticism of the old, the higher will the new stand, and that the more thoroughgoing is the criticism of the old, the more solid will the new become. Only by way of the revolutionary mass criticism to distinguish what is Chairman Mao's proletarian line in education, what is renegade, hidden traitor and scab Liu Shao-ch'i's revisionist line in education, what is proletarian education and what is bourgeois education can we correctly solve a series of problems encountered by the revolution in education deep in the realm of teaching, and master the new teaching skills and teaching methods that are in conformity with the proletarian educational system. We hope that these comrades will

hold high the banner of revolutionary mass criticism, truly wipe out the influence of the revisionist educational line in the ideological field, and make innovation and development in criticism and repudiation.

As far as some comrades are concerned, the question is in fact not "the new things are beyond us." They lack the revolutionary drive, fear difficulties, are afraid of making mistakes, and just wait to be served with "prepared meals." This idea of "fear," "difficulty" and "waiting" is a manifestation of their low political consciousness. Some teachers have become timorous and punctilious because they made some mistakes and were criticized in the past. This is wrong. It should be seen that their past mistakes were made principally due to the pernicious influence of the revisionist line in education. To wipe out such pernicious influence, these teachers should set strict requirements for themselves so as to elevate themselves, but should not fear this and that and become faint-hearted. Chairman Mao teachers us: "Under given conditions, bad things can yield good results." ("On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People") It was a bad thing to get poisoned in the past. If they accept today both the positive and negative experiences and lessons under the guidance of Chairman Mao's proletarian line in education, they can deepen their knowledge and play a greater role in the educational revolution. Passive waiting is disadvantageous to the practice of struggle-criticism-transformation in the school, and is also disadvantageous to wiping out one's own contaminated ideas.

Chairman Mao pointed out: "We are presently carrying out an extremely glorious and great undertaking not attempted before by our predecessors." ("Opening Address at the First Session of the First National People's Congress of the People's Republic of China") In the course of destroying the old and establishing the new, it is inevitable that some difficulties and setbacks will be encountered. However, the difficulties of today are difficulties encountered in the course of advancement, and so long as things are done in strict accordance with Chairman Mao's series of instructions concerning the revolution in education, all difficulties can be overcome. Even shortcomings and mistakes of this and that kind arising in the course of practice due to lack of experience are also not difficult to rectify with the warm assistance of the leadership and the masses.

The reason that some teachers feel that "there is no future" is in the final analysis a question of standpoint, a question of teaching for whom. Why is it that some teachers did not feel that "there is no future" when they tirelessly fostered spiritual aristocrats for revisionism under the pernicious influence of the revisionist line in education and when they were suppressed intellectually and ravaged physically in the past, but should feel that "there is no future" today when they have been liberated by the proletariat from the yoke of feudalism, capitalism and revisionism and are teaching for the revolution and for fostering successors to the revolutionary cause of the proletariat? Obviously, they still cherish the old ideas and sentiments, and deep in their souls there is still a bourgeois "kingdom." If these people do not shift over their standpoint, they are bound to become alien to this great era of ours and run counter to the onflow of the revolution in

education. Without forsaking the bourgeois world outlook and establishing the proletarian world outlook, there is of course no future for them.

Chairman Mao teaches us: "The question of for whom is a fundamental question, a question of principle." ("Talks at the Yenan Forum on Literature and Art") By shifting over their standpoint, steadfastly taking the proletarian stand and wholeheartedly serving the workers, peasants and soldiers, the teachers will feel that their future is never so bright before as it is today. Some revolutionary teachers have aptly said: When one teaches for the revolution, for the workers, peasants and soldiers, and for the consolidation of the proletarian dictatorship, the more one teaches, the more energetic one becomes and the more one cherishes teaching. That "I am not adequately prepared for this new line" is not the essence of the question. Once the question of teaching for whom is solved, one will learn from the worker-peasant masses and from the object of education through revolutionary practice, energetically improve one's own ability to handle the proletarian teaching functions, study hard by putting Mao Tsetung thought in command of cultural lessons, seriously deal with every course of study, and make new contributions to the proletarian cause of education.

The facts show that the great majority of teachers in the schools are willing to serve socialism and are capable of gradually forming one with and serving the workers, peasants and soldiers. Having been educated for a long time in the old way, they are influenced to a greater extent by the bourgeoisie. But they also are the victim of the revisionist line, and in the struggle to criticize and repudiate the old form of education, they and the broad masses of workers, teachers and students and the revolutionary students are comrades-in-arms sharing the same trench. With the deep-going development of the class struggle in the realm of teaching, the struggle between the two classes and the two lines has become even more acute around the question of how to deal with the teachers. A handful of class enemies do their utmost to spread such fallacies as "there is no future for a teacher" and "the more teaching is reformed, the greater the misfortune of the teachers," in a vain attempt to obstruct the masses of revolutionary teachers from playing an active part in the revolution in education and to boycott the transformation of the educational front by the proletariat. We can never be negligent but must keep our minds sober on this question.

We should help the teachers transform their world outlook in the process of forming one with the workers, peasants and soldiers and in the practice of teaching reform. It is wrong to stand their transformation against their employment. If it is held that the teachers could not be employed and made to play their role until their world outlook has been transformed, then it actually means to say that there is no need for them to take part in the realistic struggle in the realm of teaching. This necessarily would weaken the revolutionary force and hamper the transformation of the world outlook of the masses of teachers. We must conscientiously carry out Chairman Mao's intellectual policy, patiently and carefully make a success of ideological and political work, further arouse the revolutionary teachers' enthusiasm and consciousness for ideological remolding, and encourage them to destroy the old and establish the new in teaching according to Chairman Mao's proletarian line in education.

In the great struggle for revolution in education, the broad masses of revolutionary teachers must steadfastly stand on Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, and with a high sense of political responsibility play an active part on the forefront of teaching reform. This generation of ours must set up the brand-new educational system of the proletariat according to Chairman Mao's thought on education, and every revolutionary teacher has a very important responsibility on his shoulder. The great leader Chairman Mao points out: "We hope that our intellectuals will continue making progress, and, in the course of work and study, gradually acquire a communist world outlook, get a better grasp of Marxism-Leninism, and identify themselves with the workers and peasants. We hope they will not stop halfway, or, what is worse, slip back; for if they do they will find themselves in a blind alley." ("On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People") We are convinced that guided by Chairman Mao's proletarian line in education, the brand-new educational system of the proletariat will see continued consolidation and development, and a contingent of revolutionary teachers of the new type in the service of proletarian politics will grow to maturity in the course of struggle.

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Keep a Bigger Stock of Grain and Hay for Consolidating the Dictatorship of the Proletariat

--Report on an investigation of the Wunan Production Team, Kuanyün hsien, Kiangsu province

(Hung-ch'i [Red Flag], No. 4, March 31, 1970)

Hung-ch'i Editor's Note:

In accordance with Chairman Mao's great strategic thought, "Be prepared against war, be prepared against natural disasters and do everything for the people," this production team, simultaneously with fulfilling the state requisition task, has stocked up three years of grain and one year of hay. They declare: "The grain reserve is essential to the continuation of the revolution and the consolidation of the proletarian dictatorship." They have drawn up a custodial system, thus greatly fostering the work style based on diligence, frugality and economy. This report may be supplied to comrades for reference.

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Guided by our great leader Chairman Mao's strategic thought, "Be prepared against war, be prepared against natural disasters and do everything for the people," the cadres and poor and lower-middle peasants of the Wunan Production Brigade, Muhsü Commune, Kuanyün hsien, consciously kept a bigger stock and took good care of grain and hay. From 1964 through 1969, under the condition of overfulfilling by double the task of requisitioning 1,388,000 catties, the collective and commune members stocked up in all more than 440,000 catties of grain that could feed the commune members of the production team more than three years, and more than 150,000 catties of hay that could supply the whole production team with fuel for one year and animal feed for more than one year. The poor and lower-middle peasants and the cadres heroically declared: "In spirit we are armed with Mao Tsetung thought and in material supply, we have an ample stock of grain and grass. We are not afraid of natural disasters, nor are we afraid of the imperialists and revisionists making trouble. Victory is ours!"

Consciously Stocking Up Grain with the Whole Situation in Mind

The Wunan Production Team was formerly well known for its poverty in Kuanyün hsien. Before liberation, a folk song said: "Seen in the distance, it is little Wuchuang, but coming closer, we see the place overgrown with rushes. In spring, white alkali emerges all over the land and in autumn, the whole place is flooded." After liberation, guided by Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, the poor and lower-middle peasants brought the revolutionary spirit of "self-reliance" and "hard struggle" into play, battled against the alkali, drought and water-logging, and toiled with sweat to change the backward look marked by the shortage of food and fuel. In accordance with Chairman Mao's

teaching that "it is imperative to have reserve grain by putting away some every year and increasing the stock year by year," they stocked up more than 18,400 catties of grain for the first time in 1964.

With the development of socialist production, the Wunan Production Team made more and more contributions to the state and the stock of grain and hay also grew bigger and bigger. By 1966, the collective grain stock had increased to 150,000 catties. In 1967, another bumper harvest was reaped, and the cadres and poor and lower-middle peasants advanced the slogan of "stocking more grain for the revolution." However, some people said: "The grain stock of the team is enough to feed us more than a year even though the plows and rakes are left to rust. So, it is possible to put away less grain and distribute a bit more." Some people also said: "What is the purpose of stocking up so much grain?" They thought that it was not necessary to continue with the stocking of grain. Under such circumstances, whether we should find satisfaction in what we had achieved and seal off the barns, or add to the stock by stocking more grain furnished a new test to whether we were thoroughgoing revolutionaries or half-hearted revolutionaries.

To continue with stockpiling, one must establish the idea of continuing the revolution with the whole situation in mind, raise the spiritual realm from "stocking grain for survival" to "stocking grain for the revolution" and enlarge it from for "one team" to for "the whole of China" and "the whole mankind."

In light of the fact that a few people wanted to stock less or no grain, the cadres of the Wunan Production Team studied together with the masses of commune members Chairman Mao's teaching: "In drawing up plans, handling affairs or thinking over problems, we must proceed from the fact that China has a population of six hundred million people." ("On the Correct Handling of Contradictions among the People") Together they criticized and repudiated the counter-revolutionary revisionist contrabands of "three alls" and "four no retentions" (distribute all, eat all, consume all and retain no common funds, public welfare funds, production expenses and reserve grain) spread by renegade, hidden traitor and scab Liu Shao-ch'i. Together they recalled the miserable past and thought of the happy present, combated self-interest and criticized revisinism. Hence, the consciousness of the masses of commune members in the stocking of more grain for the revolution was greatly raised, and everybody came to understand that the continued stocking of grain was essential to the situation, to the continuation of the revolution and to the consolidation of the proletarian dictatorship.

The old poor peasants declared: "We can never merely stock grain for survival but must stock grain for the revolution. When grain is stocked for survival, it is enough to have a grain stock for two or three years, but when grain is stocked for the revolution, there is no end, and the greater the grain stock, the better." The production team leader said: "At present, Taiwan has not been liberated and two-thirds of the class brothers in the whole world are still suffering. Even though we have grain and hay in stock at home, we cannot forget our class brothers, the revolution of China and aid to the world revolution." Based on unified understanding, apart from over-

fulfilling the state requisition task that year, they also increased the stock of reserve grain by close to 60,000 catties in the collective barns.

Since the great proletarian cultural revolution, the cadres and commune members of this production team have continuously heightened the idea of the whole. They increase production without forgetting the revolution, think of wartime in time of peace and of bad years in good years, and have consciously and energetically stocked grain year after year.

An old poor peasant working as animal feeder who had led the life of a hired farmhand for 27 years, had to run away from famine every year and had been a beggar in the old society kept the world in mind when he worked in the cattle-pen. Every day, at the time of feeding cattle, when he found a few grains in the straw, he always picked them up one by one. He would rather be late for home and his meal or forsake his rest time than to leave the grain scattered around. Some people said: "The collective barns are stacked with grain, and the loss of a few grains is of little importance." He said: "Grain is a treasure indispensable to the revolution. By picking up a handful a day, a horse can be bought in three years. Every additional grain stocked by us means a bit more loyal to Chairman Mao and another bullet for the overthrow of imperialism, revisionism and reaction. Don't slight it." In the past two years or more, he and five other feeders collected for the collective more than 1,000 catties of grain every year.

The broad masses of poor and lower-middle peasants keep the whole situation in mind, carry out their work well and consciously stock grain and hay for the collective in this way. They are resolved to stock grain for the overthrow of imperialism, revisionism and reaction till the world is red all over.

Enlarging the Grain Stock Through Diligence, Frugality and Economy

Diligence, frugality and economy constitute the revolutionary natural color of the proletariat, the revolutionary heirloom of the Wunan Production Team and an important channel to enlarging the grain stock. Since the establishment of the grain stock in 1964, this production team has increased production every year and reaped a bumper harvest every season. The richer it becomes and the better the harvest, the more they pay attention to diligence, frugality and economy. All households and all people, both young and old, are working energetically to enlarge the stock of grain and hay by saving every grain and every piece of hay for the revolution. They declared: "We have the responsibility to save one thousand catties for the revolution and can never waste a single grain at will."

Diligence, frugality and economy, extravagance and waste represent the two kinds of world outlook of the proletariat and the bourgeoisie that are completely opposed to each other, and they hold the key to whether the reserve stock can be upheld and enlarged continuously. In accordance with the great leader Chairman Mao's teaching that "grain must be firmly grasped," the cadres and the poor and lower-middle peasants of the Wunan Production Team do

not forget the revolution in a good year, do not forget to practice economy when production has increased. Every year and every season, they opportunely see to it that harvesting, threshing and storing are firmly grasped.

At harvest time, a communist always led some old people and children to go to the fields early in the morning and late in the evening to collect the grain scattered around. At first, some people thought this was "too mean." They replied: The "meanness" of the proletariat cannot be forsaken and the "extravagance" of the bourgeoisie is undesirable. For the revolution, we are willing to be "mean" the rest of our lives until communism. In this way, they recovered a lot of grain from the fields, the threshing floors and the grassland, thus enabling the grain and hay to stack higher and higher.

The enlargement of the reserve stock through diligence, frugality and economy is tightly grasped not only by the Wunan Production Team as a collective, but also by the commune members in ordinary life. On one occasion, the son of an old peasant expressed displeasure over the mixture of rice with taro, saying: "Since our home has grain to spare, having a better meal is justified by our hard toil." These words recalled to the mind of the old poor peasant how he led the life of a beggar for seven years in the old society. He said: "Speaking of hardship, I could stand hardship better than you in the old society. Why was it that I had to run away from famine to beg and feed on bran and vegetables year after year? It is Chairman Mao who gives us our grain. Since Chairman Mao tells us to stock up grain and hay in preparation against war and natural disasters, we poor and lower-middle peasants should take the lead in responding to the call with resolution. We cannot forget the past and the revolution!" This episode not only gave the younger generation a profound course of education but also great influenced those who consumed grain lavishly.

At present, the glory of cherishing, making economic use of and stocking up grain and hay has become a new direction in the Wunan Production Team. Every household makes careful planning of every meal to save grain for the stockpile. People eat more in the busy season and eat less in the slack season. Grain is mixed with gourds and vegetables. Although they are rich, they do not forget to continue with the revolution through diligence and frugality. Every household has several hundred catties and up to one or two thousand catties of surplus grain in stock, and small barns are set up everywhere.

Consolidating the Grain Stock with a Compact System

Only by putting Mao Tsetung thought in command of stockpiling, regarding the stock of grain and hay as strategic material and adopting a tightly organized system can we keep the grain and hay firmly in stock and insure that the stock is wisely used.

In order to consolidate the grain stock, it is imperative to arm one's mind with Mao Tsetung thought and establish the idea of maintaining an "iron-clad" reserve. On one occasion, the leader of the production team led more than ten commune members to deliver and sell grain to the grain control

office of the commune. It was after noon, and the grain had still not been weighed. Someone suggested that some reserve grain be used to prepare a meal. He said: "The reserve grain is grain reserved for use. Since we are doing things for the collective, it doesn't matter for us to consume a bit of it. The system should be carried out with greater flexibility." The leader of the production team promptly studied Chairman Mao's relevant teaching together with the commune members. He unambiguously stated: "The reserve grain is revolutionary grain, grain for preparedness against war and natural disasters. The reserve system formulated by the masses is 'iron-clad'. Of all needs, the grain stock can only be expended to meet the need of the revolution and the need for preparedness against war and natural disasters. We definitely cannot fill our stomachs with grain from the collective barn." As a result, all firmly refused to encroach upon the reserve grain. This episode created a big stir in the whole team. The poor and lower-middle peasant had this to say in praise: "This is correct. It is the good bearing of our team and corresponds with the fundamental interest of us poor and lower-middle peasants. The reserve grain is 'iron-clad'."

The thought of consolidating the grain stock must also be guaranteed with a specific system. In the past few years, they constantly employed the viewpoint of "be prepared against war, be prepared against natural disasters and do everything for the people" to inspect the storage, custody and use of grain. They fiercely criticized "Liu's poison" in the form of "material incentive," smashed the "four old things" of the exploiting classes, and with Mao Tsetung thought as the guide formulated a compact stockpiling system.

This system principally embodies "one principle": Any demand that corresponds with the need of "be prepared against war, be prepared against natural disasters and do everything for the people" is met at whatever time, but any demand contrary to this is firmly rejected, and not a single grain is made available. "Subsidy is not granted in seven respects": Those who go to other places on duty, those on night duty, those who are required to rush through harvesting and planting in the busy season, those working on rivers, those who build their own houses, those who need money for wedding, for funeral or for celebrating other occasions and those who lead a lavish life are as a rule not subsidized with the reserve grain. The practice of extravagance and waste by giving dinner parties and distributing gifts in the name of celebrating a bumper harvest is strictly forbidden. No disbursement at ordinary times, no disbursement without the approval of the leadership at a higher level, and no request for disbursement under extraordinary circumstances without the discussion and consent of the poor and lower-middle peasants must be strictly observed.

This system is implemented under the supervision of the "three-in-one combination" custodial group formed with seven cadres, poor and lower-middle peasants and militiamen so as to insure that the reserve stock of grain and hay is truly in the hands of the poor and lower-middle peasants. It is consciously upheld and observed by everybody. On one occasion, the mother of a cadre in the production team had no straw for making bed, and someone advised him to go to the production team to obtain some straw. But the cadre refused to do so, and he insisted on making the bed with bean leaves from his home for his mother.

Persevering in Struggle To Defend the Reserve Grain

The process of stocking up grain and hay was replete with the violent struggle between the two classes and the two lines. From the day the grain stock was set up by the Wunan Production Team, the struggle has not stopped a single day. Guided by Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, the cadres and poor and lower-middle peasants of this team stemmed the evil wind, battled the wicked waves and triumphantly defended the reserve grain.

With the Wunan Production Team's reserve stock of grain and hay growing year by year, the capitalist roaders in the hsien worked openly to undermine the reserve stock. In the winter of 1966, they sent someone to the Wunan Production Team, and in the name of taking inventory and checking accounts, he flagrantly said: "Why is it so much grain is stocked by so small a production team as yours? Have the stock distributed right away!" The poor and lower-middle peasants of the Wunan Production Team who were armed with Mao Tsetung thought knew at once that he was peddling Liu Shao-ch'i's contrabands of "three alls" and "four no retentions." Giving tit for tat, they said: "We are told by Chairman Mao to stock up grain and hay in order to be prepared against war and natural disasters and do everything for the people, and to overthrow imperialism, revisionism and reaction. What is your intention in asking us to distribute our reserve grain?" This man could do nothing else but to slip away quietly amidst the denunciations of the poor and lower-middle peasants.

The victory of the defense of the reserve grain greatly heightened the will of the poor and lower-middle peasants to fight. However, a handful of class enemies were not reconciled to their defeat, and "they always studied tactics for use against us and tried to detect the direction in order to have their way." During the great proletarian cultural revolution, a rich-peasant element of this team, who had not been satisfactorily reformed, toed the line of his sinister master Liu Shao-ch'i and talked nonsense, saying: "The commune members suffer because of stockpiling." He vainly attempted to incite the distribution of the collective reserve stock of grain and hay. A poor peasant stood forward and firmly declared: "We are told by Chairman Mao to stock up grain and hay. At the risk of my life, I'll fight against anyone who dares to undermine the reserve grain." The poor and lower-middle peasants promptly took revolutionary action to criticize, repudiate and struggle against this rich-peasant element, thus successfully defending Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line.

Stepping into the great 1970's with a militant posture, the cadres and poor and lower-middle peasants of the Wunan Production Team are resolved to go further in making living study and application of Mao Tsetung thought, in closely following Chairman Mao's great strategic plan, in grasping the revolution and promoting production, and in winning greater victory by continuing with the successful stockpiling and custody of grain and hay.

A joint investigation conducted by: the Revolutionary Committee of Kuanyün hsien, the Militia Department of Kuanyün hsien and the Hsin-hua Jih-pao correspondent.

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How a Small Plant Produces 500 Trucks a Year

- An Investigation Report on Chingkangshan Truck Manufacturing Plant, Kiangsi -

(Hung-ch'i [Red Flag], No. 4, Mar. 31, 1970)

(Resume: This Plant has since 1968 produced 97 machine tools for special uses, representing 45 percent of the machine tools and equipment in the Plant and exceeding the sum total of its machine tools and equipment before the great proletarian cultural revolution. This article shows that, by putting proletarian politics to the fore, insisting on self-reliance, fully relying on the masses, undertaking technical innovations on a massive scale, and operating on the basis of industry and economy, a small plant is also capable of making comparatively great contributions to the State.)

Chingkangshan Truck Manufacturing Plant in Kiangsi was formerly a truck repair and assembly plant with only 600 workers or more and 88 machine tools and units of equipment. The great proletarian cultural revolution has gone a long way in arousing the revolutionary enthusiasm and creativity of the workers and cadres alike. In 1969, guided by our great leader Chairman Mao's great strategic idea of "preparing for war, preparing for natural disasters, and doing everything for the people," the Plant produced 516 Chingkangshan brand trucks simply by relying on its own efforts, hard work and thrift, developing a mass movement on a large scale, and carrying out technical innovations. It has thus made valuable contributions to the socialist revolution and socialist construction.

All the main parts of the Chingkangshan brand truck--the motor, the big beams, the front bridge, and the driver's cabin--are produced by the Plant itself. They have been tested and evaluated and found to conform to the requirements of designing. Trucks which the Plant produced in the early period are now spread across the province. They are used to carry cargoes or passengers across mountains and fields. Some have run for more than 40,000 kilometers, with good performance.

How can a small plant produce 500 trucks in one year?

Bring Proletarian Politics to the Fore, Implement the Policy of Self-Reliance

The revolutionary workers of this Plant have long had the ambition to produce their own trucks. In 1958, under the guidance of the Party's general line for socialist construction, they had already made known their

demand to make their own trucks. However, with the renegade, hidden traitor and scab Liu Shao-ch'i pushing the counter-revolutionary revisionist line characterized by the "foreign slave philosophy," "the doctrine of crawling at a snail's pace," and "having the specialists operate the plant," the capitalist roaders, saying such nonsense as "the truck is a foreign thing and cannot be made without specialists or complete sets of equipment," arbitrarily suppressed the revolutionary demand of the workers.

In 1961, the workers took the initiative to produce a truck. This so enraged the capitalist roaders that they condemned the workers as "not doing their job" and "having fancy ideas." Moreover, they deliberately transferred from the Plant the needed equipment and skilled workers in a vain attempt to force the workers to give up the idea of making their own trucks. Hitting the nail on the head, the workers said: "We'll make trucks with our own hands. We'll never give up the idea of making our own trucks!"

The great proletarian cultural revolution brought about world-shaking changes in this Plant. The energy they had stored up for many years for making trucks for the sake of the revolution erupted like a volcano. In high spirits and beating gongs and drums, they hung up on the gate of the plant the signboard of a truck manufacturing plant. The cearion call for a battle of producing their own trucks had been sounded!

However, the struggle between the two lines and two kinds of ideas had not come to an end. In early 1968, following the establishment of the Plant's revolutionary committee, a decision was made to produce 50 trucks annually. It was firmly supported by the broad masses of revolutionary workers. However, some people said: "It is easy to talk about making trucks. A truck requires more than 9,000 parts, none of which can be dispensed with. Let's wait till we have the material conditions!"

Wait or create? Around this question, the Plant held a big debate.

Under the leadership of the Plant's revolutionary committee and army representatives, the workers harshly criticized Liu Shao-ch'i's counter-revolutionary revisionist stuff such as "crawling at a snail's pace" and the "foreign slave philosophy." They recognized that the question of whether we should wait or create the necessary conditions was not merely an ideological question of a general nature but also a reflection of the struggle between the two lines. Said the workers: The human factor is first. We should not be bothered by the lack of material conditions; the question is whether we have the ambition or not!

Following Chairman Mao's great teaching--"on what should our policy be based? It should be based on own strength, that is, self-reliance," the workers of the entire Plant toiled with ingenuity and effort, exerting their revolutionary zeal to the hilt and starting a battle for producing their own trucks.

Building the truck beams requires a 1,500-ton press. But the Plant did not have such a machine. Holding up their big hammers, the workers said emotionally: "This is our equipment for building the spine of the truck!"

An old worker picked up an iron plate 5.2 meters long and five millimeters thick and put it on a metal worktable. Then he said to several young men: "Come, let's make beams!"

The sound of hammering was deafening. Their hands got numb. But they recited aloud: "Be resolute, fear no sacrifice, and surmount every difficulty to win the victory." With hammers, they made beam after beam. After that, the workers carried out technical innovations and turned manual labor into mechanical labor. They succeeded in producing more and better truck beams, which met the needs of the development of production.

Demonstrating the revolutionary spirit of "fearing neither hardship nor death," the workers overcame one hurdle after another and produced 50 trucks. Some people in the Plant, heaving a sigh, said: "Now that we have made 50 trucks with big hammers, shouldn't the State give us something in return?" They were prepared to exchange these 50 trucks for equipment, plant and capital from the State. In the case of machine tools alone, they intended to ask the State for more than 500 units.

But the broad masses of workers, taking the whole into account, firmly opposed such an idea. They said: "We must work self-reliantly our whole lives, and not for a while. We would rather suffer again a thousand times than give the State a little trouble." And it was at this time that the higher up handed down the combat assignment, asking them to strive, on the existing basis, to produce 500 trucks in 1969.

What a glorious yet formidable task, to increase production from 50 trucks to 500! Faced with this severe test, the workers did not flinch even half a step. They studied the general line of "going all out, aiming high and building socialism with greater, faster, better and more economical results" set forth by Chairman Mao and his great call for "preparing for war, preparing for natural disasters, and doing everything for the people." They seriously analyzed the new situation of class struggle at home and abroad. They viewed the production of trucks from the plane of strengthening war preparations and aiding the world revolution. They proudly indicated: "While in the workshop, we have the whole world at heart. We remember the 3,000 million people. We'll work with self-reliance all our lives. We'll not be daunted by difficulties."

The cadres and workers in the Plant, united as one, finally overfulfilled their State task with sweat and blood. Glittering with the light of Mao Tsetung thought, the 516 Chingkangshan brand trucks were driven out of this small plant!

They Undertake Technical Innovation on a Massive Scale and Arm Themselves

Our great leader Chairman Mao teaches us: "We must not take the old road of technical development traversed by the various countries of the world, and crawl behind others." In accordance with this great teaching and in the course of making trucks self-reliantly, the revolutionary workers of Chingkangshan Truck Manufacturing Plant have undertaken technical innovations on a large scale and fully developed their wisdom and talent.

Breaking superstitions and liberating their minds, they made breakthrough and revolution in product design. Truck designing was in the past regarded as something sacred and inviolable by the bourgeois technical "authorities." The workers could only follow the blueprints without the slightest alteration. Smashing these foreign dogmas, the workers now dare to think, act and create boldly. When designing the head of the truck and the driver's cabin, everyone in the plant joined in working out the best design. Some workers who did not know how to draw used paper or clay to make models and put forward a dozen plans. Finally, a new type of truck head and driver's cabin were chosen; they were simple in structure and easy to make.

In order to solve the contradiction between insufficient equipment and mass production of trucks, the workers set up a shock brigade for precision casting. Learning and working at the same time, they engaged in arduous research. In less than two months' time, they basically mastered the techniques and manufactured 17 kinds of products.

The connecting rod is the main part of the truck motor. Originally it was made by forging, which was labor consuming, and the processing was also difficult. The workers, using the method of precision casting and after repeated experiments, succeeded in making the rod.

The I-beam for the front bridge of the truck, according to the former blueprint specifications, had to be made by a 5-ton forging hammer. The workers, after serious analysis and study, were determined to substitute founding for forging. When a number of experiments failed, some people said: "We have never heard about making I-beams by casting in place of forging. Stop if you can't make it!"

Yet the workers replied: "What others have, we must have. What others do not have, we must also have. There is no difficulty in the world which is insurmountable, if given effort. There is no technical hurdle we cannot tackle if we work for the revolution!" They seriously summed up the experience and lessons of their failure. They finally achieved success by persisting in experiments. In the whole of last year, they carried out technological innovation in the Plant and completed a total of 26 major projects.

"A good revolutionary fighter," said the workers of the Plant, "must not rely solely on the weapons issued by the higher up. He must seize the weapons from the battlefield!" While using the existing equipment to make trucks, they also designed and manufactured various kinds of special equipment necessary for the mass production of trucks, and thus armed themselves. By making trucks and equipment at the same time, they increased the speed at which they armed themselves and accelerated the development of production. Workshop No. 1 had no equipment but two pneumatic hammers, which were simply not enough to meet the needs. Engaging in production and making equipment at the same time, the workers invented a new-type drilling machine, hydraulic riveter, radial driller, travelling crane, hoisting crane and a series of molding fixtures, thereby forming a continuous operating line. They overfulfilled the yearly production task ahead of schedule.

In workshop No. 4, for the operating line for the processing of cylinders, the workers produced 24 units of machine tools of various kinds for special uses, accounting for 80 percent of the total number of machine tools for this line.

Beginning from 1968, the Plant produced a total of 97 units of various kinds of machine tools for special uses; these represent over 45 percent of the present machine tools and equipment in the Plant and surpass the sum total of the Plant's machine tools and equipment before the great proletarian cultural revolution.

In the course of technical innovation, closely combining with the needs of production, they take "indigenous methods" as the principal ones and coordinate them with foreign methods. As a result, the equipment they made are generally simple in structure, easy to handle and to repair. In respect to quality and performance, they also surpass the foreign machine tools and equipment of the similar type.

Formerly the I-beams could be processed only with the universal milling machine and shaping machine, and only one beam could be processed by a shift a day. The workers produced a 6-face milling machine with which they are able to process 20 beams daily. In the past, eight workers could only make one beam with hammers. The workers, racking their brains, drew and designed and, making use of waste material, produced a rolling press for making big beams. In only several minutes it can roll out a big beam, increasing the work efficiency by more than 80 times over manual labor.

Developing Revolutionary Emulation Drives and Mass Movement on a Huge Scale

In the light of Chairman Mao's great teaching that "it is necessary to develop a mass movement in doing all kinds of work," this Plant, in the course of producing the 500 trucks, put proletarian politics to the fore, mobilized the masses freely, launched the socialist revolutionary emulation drives in depth, and thus boosted the progress of production.

Last year, the Plant on different occasions organized three upsurges of the mass movement. The first time was when, inspired by the happy news of the victorious opening of the 9th Party Congress, all in the Plant devoted themselves to producing the first batch of 100 trucks. On the second occasion, as a tribute to the 20th anniversary of National Day, the Plant produced 200 trucks through two months of sheer hard work. On the third occasion, beginning from early October, the masses pooled together their efforts and, in a race against time, triumphantly overfulfilled the whole year's production order.

Taking the Plant's actual conditions into account, the workers carried out a mass movement on a large scale, concentrating their efforts on fighting a war of annihilation in solving the conflict between insufficient equipment and incomplete production lines on the one hand and mass production of trucks on the other, and in achieving a high speed of production. At first, the Plant was in a weak position in regard to its equipment and work force when it was asked to produce 500 trucks, and found it impossible to execute the order in any way. Later, applying Chairman Mao's brilliant idea of "fighting battles one by one" to industrial production, they decided to produce the 500 trucks by different batches.

First of all, they concentrated forces on processing molds and making parts. When the parts became sufficient, they started the assembly of a batch of trucks on a shock basis. When this battle was over, they again concentrated forces on producing more molds and parts and then assembled more trucks. Fighting battles one by one in this way insured the mastery of absolute superiority on every part and pushed the mass movement forward wave upon wave.

In carrying out the mass movement on a large scale, this Plant has insisted on putting proletarian politics to the fore. Before each battle was fought, it gave play to military democracy and formulated operational plans. During a battle, it carried out propaganda and agitation work successfully, giving vigorous publicity to good people and good deeds. After each battle was over, it used the time for regrouping to carry out activities of evaluation on a massive scale, summing up the experiences gained in good time and setting up models.

At first, processing of parts lagged behind. The three teams of workers in workshop No. 5, taking the whole into account and doing their specific duties, on their initiative proposed that they increase the production from one type of product to 24 types of products. With one milling machine they converted a dozen sets of fixtures, thus making multiple uses of one machine.

Grasping this typical example, the Plant's revolutionary committee encouraged other workshops to do the same, thereby quickly overcoming the difficulties caused by inadequate supply of processed parts and insuring the smooth conduct of general assembly of trucks.

At the time of assembling trucks, assembling personnel were found insufficient. Thereupon, workers of one team proposed setting off the activities of "Red pace-setters." They first approached the Plant's revolutionary committee for permission to assemble the trucks. This team consisted of a total of eight workers, but there were only four skilled workers, of whom only two really knew how to assemble trucks. They taught and learned from each other. On the first occasion, they worked hard for three days and completed the installation of ten motors. On the second occasion, they assembled ten trucks in 15 days.

Influenced by them, everyone in the Plant went all out to join in the effort, and even the administrative cadres and workers' dependents enthusiastically took part in the battle for assembling trucks. Both inside and outside the workshops every spot of the Plant was turned into a battleground for assembling trucks. Each team was composed of a dozen persons. These bustling activities of assembling trucks, putting the different parts of trucks together, compounded by the sound of the hammers and the light of the electric welders, constituted a vividly heart-stirring scene.

Of the 163 dependents of workers in the Plant, 154 joined in the battle for turning out 500 trucks. They set up a "May 7" plant of dependents, producing 45 types of small parts such as door locks and the fixtures of the water tank.

As early as 1958, Chairman Mao had pointed out: "Up to now, there are still some comrades among us who are unwilling to carry out large-scale mass movements in the industrial field. They regard the mass movement on the industrial front as something 'irregular,' deriding it as 'rural style of work' or 'guerrilla tactics.' This is obviously incorrect."

The Plant's revolutionary committee and the army representatives deeply realized from practice that vigorously developing the revolutionary mass movements on practical grounds and developing our revolution and socialist construction with greater, faster, better and more economical results is part of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line. In situations marked by the unprecedented upsurge of the political awareness of the masses and their revolutionary spirit, it is necessary to carry out a mass movement on a huge scale, persist in revolutionary emulation drives, organize the masses in a suitable manner, and march on all places and departments where we can bring our forces into play and march on production in breadth and depth. (Note to the article "Outlet for Surplus Labor")

Operate the Plant with Industry and Economy, Set Up the Style of Thrift

In the battle producing 500 trucks, this Plant has firmly put into practice Chairman Mao's policy of "operating a plant on the basis of industry and economy." It has practiced austerity in every respect for the sake of the revolution, maintained and promoted the fine working style of hard work and plain living.

When mass production of trucks began, a small number of people in the Plant thought: "Producing 500 trucks is a big thing, and it doesn't matter if we waste a little bit." Many signs of wastefullness appeared at one time as a result. In view of this, the Plant's revolutionary committee and the army representatives promptly set up a Mao Tsetung thought study class at which was repeatedly studied Chairman Mao's great teaching that "we must save every penny for the war and the cause of revolution and for our economic construction," a teaching started in the article "Our Economic Policy." The revisionist line of running enterprises followed by the renegade, hidden traitor, and scab Liu Shao-ch'i was roundly criticized, and everyone was taught to practice austerity for the sake of the revolution. They realized that practicing of austerity while making revolution was a sharp class struggle in the economic domain, was a socialist orientation for enterprises, and was an important thing for consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat. To increase output, it is necessary to practice austerity, for austerity complements production. Increase of production and practice of austerity are mutually complementary. The workers are determined to fulfill the order for 500 trucks and to "strive to save on everything and do more at less cost." ("On the Correct Handling of Contradictions among the People") They are determined to save for the State every inch of steel product, every screw, every piece of coke, and every unit of electricity.

In the course of production, they insist on using simple and indigenous methods and equipment and oppose the pursuit of bigness and foreign methods and equipment. Of the 97 machine tools made by the Plant, 34 were made of waste and used materials. Of the more than 500 molding fixtures made by the Plant, 60 percent were produced out of waste and used materials. Thus, a large amount of capital was saved for the State. In order to save raw materials for the State, moreover, they made large numbers of parts out of bits and ends of materials and out of parts reported as obsolete. The dependents' "May 7" plant processed more than 40 types of parts, which were made of bits and ends; never once did they have ask the plant's warehouse for allocation of material.

Following the development of production, this Plant has grown in size, but it has never changed its revolutionaty style of operating on the basis of industry and thrift. Last year, the workers' living quarters were insufficient and the Plant's revolutionary committee on its own initiative turned over its office building to the workers to be used as dormitory, while it moved to a straw hut to work. Many demobilized armymen who entered the Plant recently are displaying the fine style of the PLA in leading a life of hard work and thrift. They live in the large warehouse and derive happiness from working for the revolution. Last year, because plant facilities were inadequate, the workers erected their own straw sheds in which to carry on their work. They said with immense pride: "While making revolution in the sheds, we aim at making the world all Red."

Investigation Team of Kiangsi Provincial
Revolutionary Committee.

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Advertising Bourgeois Art and Literature Means Restoration of Capitalism

- Refuting Chou Yang's reactionary theories in praise of bourgeois "renaissance," "enlightenment" and "critical realism"

by

The Shanghai Writing Group for Revolutionary Mass Criticism

(Hung-ch'i [Red Flag], No. 4, Mar. 31, 1970)

In summing up the struggle on the ideological and cultural front since the May 4th Movement, our great leader Chairman Mao pointed out 30 years ago: "Everything new comes from the forge of hard and bitter struggle. This is also true of the new culture which has followed a zigzag course in the past 20 years, during which both the good and the bad were tested and proved in struggle." ("On New Democracy") It is precisely the struggle of those 20 years that gave rise to the epoch-making document of the Marxist ideological and cultural movement--Chairman Mao's "Talks at the Yenan Forum on Literature and Art."

The 30 years since have witnessed an even more violent and tortuous struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, and between proletarian and bourgeois cultures. The outcome provides further confirmation that Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line in art and literature is the only correct line for the movement for proletarian revolutionary art and literature.

"The four villains" Chou Yang, Hsia Yen, T'ien Han and Yang Han-sheng, agents of the renegade, hidden traitor and scab Liu Shao-ch'i in art and literary circles, stubbornly pushed an evil counter-revolutionary revisionist line in art and literature that opposed Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line. This evil line advertised bourgeois and revisionist theories and works of art and literature for the purpose of restoring capitalism. In Chou Yang's eyes, the renaissance between the 14th and 16th centuries, the enlightenment of the 18th century and the art and literature of critical realism of the 19th century of the bourgeoisie in the West were "peaks, both ideologically and artistically," [1] and standing on this "peak" was this "master" or that "sky," in "an endlessly long line".[2] Therefore, there was no need for the proletariat of China to make revolution in art and literature. All that was needed was to take the classical art and literature of the bourgeoisie in the West as the "targets to strive for," [3] creating "a renaissance in the East."[4] Over the decades, Chou Yang on countless occasions publicized his reactionary theories in praise of the "renaissance," the "enlightenment" and "critical realism." These were poisoned arrows aimed at Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line in art and literature. We must thoroughly criticize these reactionary views.

Make Bourgeois Art and Literature "Targets to Strive For" or Bring About Proletarian Revolution in Art and Literature?

What did the renaissance, the enlightenment and critical realism of the bourgeoisie do? They all aimed at creating public opinion to stimulate the growth of capitalism, establish and consolidate the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and save capitalism from extinction. The bourgeoisie had barely stepped on the political stage during the renaissance; it seized political power from the feudal class and gradually established its capitalist rule during the enlightenment. By the 19th century when critical realism appeared, the contradictions inherent in the capitalist system were fully exposed, and the proletariat began to mount the political stage as grave digger of the bourgeoisie. Isn't the history from renaissance to critical realism through enlightenment a history which reflects the course of the bourgeoisie from rise to decline on the world scale?

Chairman Mao points out penetratingly: "Except for the revolution which replaced primitive communes by slavery, that is, a system of non-exploitation by one of exploitation, all revolutions ended in the replacement of one system of exploitation by another;" "our revolution, the revolution of the masses of the people led by the proletariat and the Communist Party, is the only revolution aiming at the final elimination of exploitation and all classes." (Note to "Material on the Hu Feng Counter-revolutionary Clique") In order to attain this aim, an important task for the proletariat in continuing the socialist revolution after it has won political power is to criticize all kinds of reactionary bourgeois ideology and every kind of ideology which serves the exploiting classes and the system of exploitation. The proletariat absolutely cannot take bourgeois art and literature as a model or a "target." If this were done, it would mean the restoration of capitalism.

It is possible to regard bourgeois renaissance as "a target to strive for" under the dictatorship of the proletariat? The exponents of the renaissance did their utmost to advocate "humanism," that is, "humanitarianism." It was said that they were the first to "discover" and "affirm" the human being. However, the feudal class was also a type of human being. But it did not talk of "humanity," but of "divine right." The feudal ruler claimed to rule by "divine right." The bourgeoisie used "humanity" to oppose the "divine right" of feudalism. And "humanity" was precisely the bourgeoisie itself.

As for the hundreds of millions of the working people who are creators of all history, they were not "discovered," to say nothing of being "affirmed." The "humanists" preached that happiness in the present world was above

anything else. In fact, they used overt bourgeois self-indulgence to oppose the feudal class's self-denial, that is, covert self-indulgence. They roared "my thinking is the sole arbiter." They even described bourgeois egoism, epicureanism and the compulsive drive for possessions as true for all, and inherent in mankind. What place would there be for the working people and how could there be proletarian Red political power if all these were revived!

Is it possible to take the bourgeois enlightenment as "a target to strive for" under the dictatorship of the proletariat? Chou Yang everywhere urged: "Use scientific truth to enlighten the masses".[5] This mirrored the reactionary bourgeois viewpoint of considering oneself a "benefactor" while looking upon the masses as "mob." Truth has its class nature. What is "scientific truth"? In all history, only Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought is genuine scientific truth that will enable mankind to win complete emancipation. Where did Marxism come from? It was founded by Marx and Engels on the basis of summing up the practical experience of the proletarian revolutionary movements in various countries. It came "from the masses," as Chairman Mao has said.

The advanced elements of the proletariat repeatedly publicize among and educate the laboring people on the Marxist truth, and when "this correct idea which represents the advanced class is grasped by the masses, it will turn into a material force for changing the society and changing the world." ("Where Did Men's Correct Ideas Come From"?) This is what Chairman Mao means by "going to the masses."

Marxism has developed precisely along the line of "coming from the masses and going back to the masses," and "in such a recurrent process, it [Marxism] becomes more correct, more lively, and richer." ("Certain Questions Concerning the Methods of Leadership") Marxism, Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought--these are the three stages of development of Marxism. But the so-called enlightenment not only presented the bourgeois democratic revolutionaries as benefactors but used "liberty, equality, fraternity" and other lies of the bourgeoisie to fool the masses in order to help establish or consolidate the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. As a matter of fact, the "enlightenment," for the proletariat, served only to mislead. Taking such art and literature as the "target" means creating counter-revolutionary public opinion for Liu Shao-ch'i's bourgeois reactionary line.

Please look: Instructed by Liu Shao-ch'i, Chou Yang and company produced a reactionary film "Prairie Fire," which sought to perpetuate the name of this renegade. The film had a character called "Lei Huan-hsueh"--a name which literally means "to awaken." It sought to pose this scab as the "benefactor" to "awaken" the masses. The bourgeois reactionary line pushed by Liu Shao-ch'i for many years was aimed at misleading and suppressing the worker and peasants masses. It allowed the bourgeoisie to exploit and oppress the working people and, at the same time, forbade the worker and peasant masses from rising up to make revolution!

Is it possible, under the dictatorship of the proletariat, to regard critical realism in literature and art of the bourgeoisie as a "target to strive for"? The proletariat criticizes the bourgeoisie in order to destroy the bourgeoisie, but bourgeois writers "criticize" capitalism in order to consolidate the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. They dare not negate the exploitative nature of capitalism and dare not touch on this basic question of bourgeois dictatorship. They dream up remedies for the incurable ills of the capitalist system. Their criticism of capitalist society never goes beyond, nor can it go beyond, the limits the capitalist system sets. Modern revisionists, represented by the Soviet revisionist renegade clique, laud critical realism to the skies because they are spokesmen for the decadent bourgeoisie and want to use this to protect their reactionary bourgeois rule.

After these bourgeois trends of art and literature were introduced into socialist new China from the Soviet revisionist renegade clique by Chou Yang and company, they branched out into "the theory of truthful writing," "the theory of the deepening of realism" and "the broad road of realism." Chou Yang and company openly incited the bourgeois intellectuals to be "bold in exposing the truth about life"[6] and "expose the seamy side of the socialist system"[7] so as to undermine and destroy the dictatorship of the proletariat. Therefore, if we intend to further consolidate and strengthen our dictatorship of the proletariat ideologically and culturally, we must criticize bourgeois critical realism with the proletarian world outlook.

In point of fact, even at that time the bourgeoisie advanced the slogan "renaissance" merely as a means and not an end. Did the bourgeoisie ever intend to revive the slave owners' culture of ancient Greece and Rome? Not at all. Chairman Mao points out: "Any given culture (as an ideological form) is a reflection of the politics and economics of a given society." ("On New Democracy") The "ideal realm" of the bourgeoisie at that time was capitalist society; it did not intend to go back to the social order of slavery. The reason why it hoisted the banner of "renaissance" during its attack on the feudal rule was that, apart from arousing its own militant enthusiasm, it wanted primarily to cover up the narrow content of bourgeois revolution in order to cheat and hoodwink the broad masses.

Therefore, the "renaissance" created by the bourgeoisie in the period of its rise aimed at fulfilling bourgeois political demands that had more or less some progressiveness, namely, replacing the old system of exploitation with a new one, and at achieving the transition from feudalism to capitalism. But in making the bourgeois renaissance a "target to strive for" under the conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat, Chou Yang and company fully revealed themselves as representatives of the overthrown bourgeoisie, to meet their counter-revolutionary need of restoring capitalism. In other words, by "reviving" the old bourgeois ideas and culture they aimed at restoring the old politics and economics and the old system of exploitation and making socialism revert to capitalism and socialist new China sink back into semi-colonial and semi-feudal old China!

In resisting the law of history, the reactionary classes could only accelerate their own extinction. Engels pointed out: "Beginning with the

second half of the 15th century.....when the citizens and aristocrats were locked in combat, the German peasant war prophetically revealed the coming class struggle. This is not only because the German peasant war led the peasants in revolt onto the stage--this is nothing new, but because, after the peasants, it also led the vanguards of the modern proletariat onto the stage. Red flags in hand, they clamored for the public ownership of property." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol. III, p. 492) If it were stated that as far back as during the bourgeois renaissance and enlightenment, the vanguards of the modern proletariat had already uncompromisingly challenged the bourgeoisie for "public ownership of property," then how vicious and ludicrous is the aim--like trying to turn the earth upside down--of Chou Yang and company in copying all the old bourgeois ways in a bid to revive capitalism, when today Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought is being disseminated throughout the world, when imperialism is heading for total collapse, and when socialism is advancing to world-wide victory!

Refute National Betrayal in Culture

In lauding bourgeois art and literature, Chou Yang gave this explanation: "Foreign friends ardently hope to see a renaissance in the East."[8] Who are the "foreign friends" of the renegade and enemy agent Chou Yang? They can only be the handful of imperialists and social-imperialists. What hopes would these persons have for socialist new China? "Basing themselves on the changes in the Soviet Union, the imperialist prophets are pinning their hopes of 'peaceful evolution' on the third or fourth generation of the Chinese Communist Party." ("Quotations from Chairman Mao", p. 240) Chou Yang is the very traitor who loyally implemented the counter-revolutionary "hopes" of the imperialist "prophets."

Chou Yang created a variety of counter-revolutionary public opinion in order to push this line of national betrayal in art and literature.

The so-called theory of "completely at one."

Chou Yang held that the interests of the bourgeoisie in the period of its rising were "at one with the interests of the laboring people as a whole," so that the bourgeois art and literature at the time of the renaissance and the enlightenment "made great contributions to mankind."[9] And in the 19th century, although the bourgeoisie was already decadent and in decline, the writers of critical realism, being "representatives of the bourgeoisie," were said to be "prodigals" who betrayed their own class and "did not favor capitalism."[10] So this art and literature again became the "pride of all civilized mankind."[11] To put it plainly in one sentence: all bourgeois art and literature was "completely at one" with the interests of the laboring people!

This is out and out class capitulationism in culture.

The bourgeoisie has indeed always attempted to pose itself as a representative of the interests of "all mankind." But even at the time when the bourgeoisie started its attack on the feudal class, it never for a moment

stopped its cruel exploitation and oppression of the laboring people. Moreover, the reason for its attack on the feudal class was to seize power so as to rule and exploit the laboring people. So, right after it had seized political power, it would often unite with the feudal class to cruelly suppress the laboring people who wanted to carry the revolution forward. Don't we have too few of these bloody lessons in modern world history?

Chairman Mao has made this very perceptive generalization: "Whatever is under the leadership of the bourgeoisie cannot possibly be of the masses." ("Talks at the Yenan Forum on Literature and Art") This comment hits the nail on the head and pierces all the lies spread by the bourgeoisie and the revisionists, such as "art and literature of the whole people" and "art and literature of all mankind." This is because whatever is under the leadership of the bourgeoisie is forced into the mold of exploitation. The whole of bourgeois culture that Chou Yang and company took such "pride" in was created on the basis of the bourgeoisie's ruthless plunder of the laboring people, and serves the political interests of the bourgeoisie.

This is true for the art and literature of the renaissance and the enlightenment and is true as well for the art and literature of critical realism of the 19th century. The only distinction between them is that in the former period the bourgeoisie was in its "golden epoch," and such images were projected as Robinson Crusoe, a "conqueror" and ambitious colonialist, whom Defoe described, while in the latter period, the bourgeoisie was "sinking fast, like the sun setting beyond the western hills," so there emerged the writers of critical realism, from Balzac to Tolstoy and a number of others who wrote only of the "odd man out."

Did they really "not favor capitalism"? No! They were trying their best to rescue the moribund and reactionary rule of their own class from collapse and ruin. A Marxist should never eulogize the protectors of bourgeois rule as though they were spokesmen for the laboring people. He must make a class analysis of their works and help people view them correctly, free themselves from the lies spread by the bourgeoisie and overthrow the capitalist system and its entire superstructure by means of revolution of violence.

The so-called theory of "unsurpassable."

Chou Yang touted the bourgeois renaissance, the enlightenment and critical realism as "both ideological and artistic summits" which were "unsurpassable" and "unnecessary to surpass."[12] And not only were they "unsurpassable," but there was nothing to "compare" with them. China's proletariat could "compare" with the Western bourgeoisie only when it had crawled behind the latter for "several centuries"!

Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought maintains that no specific thing in the world has an unsurpassable limit. Although the representatives of the bourgeoisie, from their bourgeois viewpoint, have time and again declared that their ideological systems of idealism and metaphysics are the "ultimate" in theory and "unsurpassable," the development of Marxism and the

revolution has long shattered this lie, with which the bourgeoisie try to resist the proletarian revolution and maintain its reactionary rule. Chou Yang's theory of "unsurpassable" is in essence advocacy of the "unsurpassable" nature of the capitalist system.

The proletarian culture which serves the workers, peasants and soldiers is the greatest culture in human history while the whole of bourgeois culture serves the exploiting classes. How can the two be compared with each other? Take the creation of typical characters. An inspection of the works created by the renaissance, the enlightenment and critical realism reveals that those who are portrayed, eulogized and prettified are only the exploiting classes and the intellectuals in their service. The few characters representing the workers and peasants who happen to appear are either distorted as rabble or maligned as varlets. Yet the exploiters and blood-suckers of every stripe are the heroes of the art and literature and swagger on the stage and screen, in novels and poems. The truth of history and the true nature of historical progress are turned upside down.

Chou Yang naturally did his best to deny this. He held that bourgeois writers had created not only countless "vivid typical characters"[13] but also typical characters representing "new people"[14] of "future socialism." Time and again he advocated that in the novel "What Should Be Done?" the Russian bourgeoisie author Chernyshevsky had not only drawn a wonderful "picture of socialist society"[15] but also created a group of typical "new people." One of these "new people" was Mila. What was the "new"? The "new" was that while clearly she was a vile "egoist," she nevertheless pretended to be a "reasonable" human being, and while clearly she was a capitalist, the owner of a factory, she pretentiously let her workers be the "boss," creating what was called "civilized exploitation." According to the first husband of Mila, he had "seen it in the United State of America" a long time ago.[16] As a matter of fact, we of the working class in Shanghai knew before the liberation what it meant by Chou Yang's advocacy of letting the workers be "new people"--the bosses.

What they meant by "civilized exploitation" was merely a means of buying off scabs and cheating the workers with some leftovers from the dining tables of the big bosses. Like the "welfare state" advocated by Nixon and Brezhnev, it was aimed at consolidating the capitalist system. But, anyone who puts a label of socialism on capitalism and beautifies it will at once become, in the eyes of Chou Yang, a typical character of "new people" of "future socialism," who reaches the unsurpassable "peak" "both ideologically and artistically"!

"The past is gone. To fine men truly great, we must look here in the present." History has long shown that only the proletariat, which has grasped Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, can produce the brilliant images of true proletarian revolutionary heroes. No work of bourgeois art and literature can be compared with the model revolutionary theatrical works which Comrade Chiang Ch'ing painstakingly created under the guidance of

Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line. How pallid the representatives of the exploiting classes in bourgeois art and literature when they appear beside Li Yü-ho, Yang Tzu-jung, Fang Hai-chen, Kuo Chien-kuang, Wu Ching-hua, Kung Ch'ang-ching, and other revolutionary heroes and heroines of the proletariat! Chou Yang said timidly: "You'll come to grief if you want to surpass in everything." [17] Does this not reveal the feat of the bourgeoisie faced by the tremendous victory of the proletarian revolution in art and literature?

Our great leader Chairman Mao pointed out long ago: "The great, victorious Chinese people's war of liberation and the great people's revolution have rejuvenated and are rejuvenating the great culture of the Chinese people. In its spiritual aspect, this culture of the Chinese people already stands higher than any in the capitalist world. Take US Secretary of State Acheson and his like, for instance, the level of their understanding of modern China and of the modern world is lower than that of an ordinary soldier of the Chinese People's Liberation Army." ("Bankruptcy of the Idealist Conception of History") Please note, "stands higher than any in the capitalist world," including its bourgeois culture! This is the most thoroughgoing refutation and the most forceful reply to Chou Yang's theory of "unsurpassable"!

The so-called theory of "total Westernization".

Chou Yang advocated "go to the Western legacy" [18] and "preserve the ideologies of olden times in today's art and literature in a systematic form." [19] "Olden," "systematic," "preserving" and so on, isn't this nothing short of "total Westernization"?! He also spread the fallacy that since China's "techniques in every artistic field are traditionally weak," those of the West are "certainly far more advanced and scientific than China's old, inherent techniques"; and, therefore, "it is always profitable to assimilate as much as possible, and with every bit we assimilate, we shall benefit that much more." [20] Is there any trace of the Chinese national pride in him? Not the least! His was the manner of a vassal begging from the Western bourgeoisie!

The Chinese people are a great, hardworking and brave people, and the Chinese nation is a nation with a great and advanced culture. Since the "May 4" movement, there had emerged in China a new cultural contingent and a new cultural orientation represented by Lu Hsun, and this contingent was under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party with Chairman Mao as the head. The end was pronounced of the old bourgeois democratic culture on Chinese soil.

We are now building proletarian culture--the greatest and most revolutionary culture in all history. Our policies are firm, namely, "make the past serve the present and foreign things serve China" and "weed through the old to bring forth the new." As regards ideological content, the old Chinese art and foreign art express the political aspirations and thinking and feelings of the exploiting classes of former times and other lands. It is necessary to criticize and break with these things. As for certain aspects of the art forms of a few works, Mao Tsetung thought must be our weapon to criticize and remold these art forms. This is the only way to weed through the old to bring forth the new. This will enable those art forms to serve the making of proletarian art and literature. "There is no construction without

destruction. Destruction means criticism and repudiation; it means revolution. It involves reasoning things out, which is construction. But destruction first, and in the process you have construction."

Old art forms must be criticized if they are to be used. Without criticism they cannot serve us, to saying nothing of weeding through the capitalist old to bring forth the socialist new. The model revolutionary theatrical works produced by the revolutionary literary and art workers under the leadership of Comrade Chiang Ch'ing are brilliant examples of putting into practice Chairman Mao's great policies "make the past serve the present and foreign things serve China" and "weed through the old to bring forth the new." These model revolutionary theatrical works have a far-reaching influence on the practical question of how to approach and deal with the cultural legacy.

Yet Chou Yang saw only "foreign" and not "China". He saw only "ancient" and not "present." He saw only the bourgeoisie of the West, and not the proletariat of the East. If, as Chou Yang said, we allowed ourselves to be led by the nose by the bourgeois art and literature, we could only play the role of promoting national betrayal as practiced by Liu Shao-ch'i and company.

Chairman Mao penetratingly points out: "Class capitulationism is actually the reserve force of national capitulationism." ("The Situation and Task of the War of Resistance against Japan After the Fall of Shanghai and Taiyuan") From "completely at one" to "unsurpassable" and then to "total Westernization," Chou Yang trod on the heels of Liu Shao-ch'i in betraying the Party and the nation!

Rising out of semi-colonial, semi-feudal soil, the Chinese bourgeoisie is extremely weak and backward politically and culturally. Its right wing, the comprador bourgeoisie, tails the Western bourgeoisie in everything and sinks to the criminal perfidy of selling the motherland. Chou Yang is precisely a representative of the bourgeoisie in pushing the line of national betrayal in culture, and he is of course not the only representative. In the history of modern culture in China, Hu Shih was Chou Yang's predecessor. Hu Shih and his like said: The moon is better in America. Chou Yang said: Western bourgeois culture is the most "progressive," most "scientific," and is so "brilliant" that we can never surpass it. The two could be said to be a pair of brothers. Is there any distinction between them? Yes, there is. While Hu Shih was a cultural comprador selling American goods, Chou Yang was a cultural comprador selling goods of different brands. There is no other distinction!

Carry Revolution on Ideological-Cultural Fronts Through to the End

"There is no construction without destruction, no flowing without damming, and no motion without rest." ("On New Democracy") If the current struggle-criticism-transformation mass movement on the art and literary front is to be carried deeper, we must smash Chou Yang's reactionary theories which lauded bourgeois art and literature to the skies.

We must solve the question of what is the correct understanding of the classical art and literature of the West. The renaissance, the enlightenment and critical realism are all classics of bourgeois art and literature. Looking at the question from the historical materialist viewpoint, art and literature of the modernist school is the large stage of bourgeois art and literature which is heading for extinction, just as are imperialism and social-imperialism the highest stage of capitalism. But the revisionists at home and abroad have long posed classics of bourgeois art and literature against bourgeois art and literature of the modernist school as if the former were not bourgeois art and literature but the best examples of "art and literature of the whole people" and their prestige were undermined by the modernist school. What a fraud! The bourgeois classics in art and literature and art and literature of the modernist school do have some differences in artistic form. The former can serve as some examples for us of artistic form, but there is nothing in the latter for us to learn from. However, both have exactly the same class nature. The latter is a vicious outgrowth of the former. It is the unavoidable, inevitable result of the political and economic crises of the bourgeoisie in the 20th century, the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution.

Under the dictatorship of the proletariat, the bourgeoisie adopts two kinds of offensives against the proletariat on the ideological-cultural front. One is the flagrant transplanting of art and literature of the modernist school and the other is to use the so-called classics of art and literature. This is not only because the bourgeoisie seeks in the classics precisely the "paradise" it has lost but is working to "regain," but also because many in society, particularly the young ones, often do not have a sufficient understanding of the class nature of these classics and can be easily captured by them. Therefore, the proletariat must use Marxism to criticize the bourgeois classics of art and literature in a thoroughgoing way.

If we so much as touch the "masters" of bourgeois classics in art and literature, the Soviet revisionist renegade clique becomes furious. This proves from the negative side the necessity of such criticism. Soviet revisionist culture, which honors the "masters" of bourgeois classic art and literature as deities, is not only crammed with jazz, rock'n'roll and all the rubbish of the Western modernist school, but has made all this fashionable in the Soviet Union. It can be seen that the revisionists not only intend to develop the decadent stuff of the modernist school for their own purposes, but they also intend to make use of these dead "classics" to exercise dictatorship over the proletariat and to restore capitalism. They simultaneously use counter-revolutionary dual tactics in culture. Sometimes they quarrel among themselves and even make a big fuss. Some of them favor the modernist school while others have nothing but contempt for it. Some shriekabout how "holy" the barbarous ideas of aggression of the old Tsars are. Others talk about how "civilized" the decadent culture of US imperialism is. These are only quarrels over what type of butcher's knife is better for massacring the people. Such lessons of history are very useful for men's education.

Donning the cloak of Marxism-Leninism, Chou Yang and company for a long time spread a large amount of poison in literature and the social and

natural sciences. We must have an ideological clean-up, to destroy the arrogance of the Western bourgeoisie, to boost the morale of the Chinese proletariat, and to push forward socialist sciences and culture. This is a long-term revolutionary task, a task we must grasp and carry through to the end.

The great proletarian cultural revolution has won a great victory. The group of revolutionary model theatrical works that emerged during the revolution in Peking revolution, the revolution in ballet, and the revolution in symphony are emitting more dazzling light and showing increasingly great influence, driving us to carry out revolution and creation in the literary and art realms in accordance with Chairman Mao's thinking on literature and art.

Chou Yang's counter-revolutionary revisionist line has collapsed. However, the struggle between the two classes and two lines in the ideological-cultural positions has not come to an end. Old ideas and old culture will still struggle violently. In the future, new poisonous weeds that emerge to contest the proletariat may be things of the bourgeois modernist school such as the "rock'n'roll"; they may also be the bourgeois classics in literature and art that would be brought forth again. They can have the effect of undermining the dictatorship of the proletariat. For this reason, we must continue fighting under the guidance of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line in art and literature, criticize the four bourgeois "villains" Chou Yang, Hsia Yen, T'ien Han and Yang Han-sheng, and criticize the bourgeois reactionary thinking of the "masters" they praised, reactionary thinking of the whole lot, from Confucius to Hu Shih, so as to enable the broad masses of revolutionary workers in literature and art to be tempered and transformed in the midst of revolutionary mass criticism.

We hope that comrades on all fronts will pay serious attention to and take part in this revolutionary mass criticism movement, carry the class struggle in the ideological sphere through to the end, and fight till the end for the establishment and consolidation of the overall dictatorship of the proletariat in the superstructure, including all fields of culture. Let us raise high the great red banners of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, fight positively, and welcome the advent of the new upsurge of the proletarian revolution in art and literature!

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NOTES

1. Talk (second) at a literary and art work forum (June 16, 1961)
2. Speech at the National Cultural Work Conference (December 24, 1959); "Esthetics of Building Marxism" (Lecture at Peking University, November 22, 1958)
3. Talk at the Opera Writers Seminar (July 1963)
4. Speech at the Creative Writing Forum (February 20, 1959)
5. "Esthetics of Building Marxism"
6. "Strive to Produce More Fine Works of Art and Literature," (Wen-i Pao [Literary Gazette], No. 19, 1953)
7. Speech at the Editorial Work Conference for the Literary Periodical of the Union of Writers (December 1956)
8. Speech at the Creative Writing Forum (February 20, 1959)
9. "The Road for Our Country's Socialist Literature and Art" (Report at the Third Congress of Chinese Literary and Art Workers, July 22, 1960)
10. Speech at the National Feature Film Production Conference (June 23, 1961)
11. "Message of Greetings at the 2nd All-Soviet Writers Congress" (Wen-i Pao, Nos. 23, 24, 1954)
12. Talk (second at a literary and art work forum (June 16, 1961)
13. "A Tentative Piscussion on Realism" (Wen-hsueh [Literature], Vol. VI, No. 1, 1936)
14. & 15. "Chernyshevsky and His Esthetics" (See "Life and Esthetics", 1957 ed.)
16. "What Should Be Done?" (published by Time Press, 1951, p. 762)
17. Talk (second at a literary and art work forum (June 16, 1961)
18. & 19. "The Question of Transforming Art Education" (See "Showing a New Era of the Masses," 1949 edition).
20. Report at the "Four Clean-up" Cadre Conference, participated in by cultural units directly under central authorities (November 24, 1964)

Turn Philosophy into a Sharp Weapon in the Hands of the Masses

- short commentary -

(Hung-ch'i [Red Flag], No. 4, March 31, 1970)

In Red Flag, issue No. 8, 1969, we introduced to comrades a number of articles on how workers learned philosophy. In the present issue, we again carry a number of selected articles by workers, poor and lower-middle peasants and PLA fighters. These articles have a clearcut viewpoint, advocating destruction of old things and establishing new things, putting facts on the table and making a lot of sense. They are to the point and are convincing, reflecting vividly how the workers, peasants and soldiers apply Chairman Mao's brilliant philosophical ideas in concretely analyzing and correctly handling the contradictions in class struggle, struggle for production and scientific experiment, in approaching and mastering the objective laws, in giving full play to man's subjective initiative and in overcoming ideological hindrances and practical hardships on the road of progress to win victory in struggle.

Great leader Chairman Mao pointed out: "Liberate philosophy from the confines of the philosophers' lecture rooms and textbooks, and turn it into a sharp weapon in the hands of the masses." Pushed by the great proletarian cultural revolution, this great call is becoming a revolutionary reality. The revolutionary fervor of the broad masses of workers, peasants and soldiers in studying and applying Chairman Mao's philosophical ideas is surging unceasingly. Cherishing boundlessly deep class emotion, they repeatedly study and apply Chairman Mao's philosophical ideas in relation to the practice of revolutionary struggle. The more they study these ideas, the more profoundly they understand them; the more they apply them, the greater the results. They hit at the class enemies accurately. They thoroughly criticize capitalism, revisionism and erroneous ideas of all shapes and colors. Taking materialist dialectics as a weapon, they wipe out the pernicious influence of renegade, hidden traitor and scab Liu Shao-ch'i's counter-revolutionary revisionist line and continuously launch socialist revolution and carry out production in depth and width. They also transform their subjective world while transforming the objective world. "They become more intelligent and their hearts redder." They make revolution more courageously and in a better way. Facts show that once the broad masses of workers, peasants and soldiers master the materialist dialectics, revolution will have endless power.

Materialist dialectics is the philosophy with which the proletariat carry out revolution. It comes from revolutionary practice and at the same time guides revolutionary practice. "Theory is based on practice and in turn serves practice." ("On Practice") Therefore, as the workers, peasants and soldiers say, "only revolutionaries can learn revolutionary philosophy well." At present the Chinese people are conscientiously carrying out Chairman Mao's great strategic directive, "Be prepared against war, be prepared against natural disasters and do everything for the people," doing well the

tasks of struggle-criticism-transformation in the spheres of the superstructure, developing socialist production, sciences and culture, and fighting to further consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat. The great and resourceful practice of revolution has opened up a vast scope for all revolutionary people to study and apply Chairman Mao's philosophical ideas. It is required by revolution and struggle that the broad masses of workers, peasants and soldiers, revolutionary cadres and revolutionary intellectuals should study Chairman Mao's brilliant philosophical ideas more extensively and in greater depth. This is a matter of great importance on the political and ideological fronts in our country. Leading comrades should pay constant attention to grasping this matter well and take the lead in studying and applying Chairman Mao's philosophical ideas. We definitely will continue to see that the tremendous material power generated by the sharp weapon of materialist dialectics in the hands of the working class and the revolutionary masses will continuously push the cause of socialist revolution and socialist construction in our country to develop flourishingly.

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Only When We Have Destroyed Old Things Thoroughly Can We Establish New Things Firmly

by

Chiang Ch'ien-wei (姜乾位), poor-peasant commune member, Ch'inchien brigade, Chiangshan hsien, Chekiang province

Chairman Mao teaches us: "There is no construction without destruction."

One thing makes us deeply feel that this is really true.

Last year, our No. 8 production team drew a series of regulations to resist the tendency toward capitalism. For example, subsidiary farm products to be purchased in a unified manner by the State could not be retained or allotted excessively for private use, free transaction of these products was not allowed, sale of these products at an unreasonably high price was prohibited, etc. "When the door is closed completely, the evil wind cannot blow into the house." We thought that everything would be all right in this situation.

A few days later, however, a problem arose. The production team needed some money to buy chemical fertilizer. Some people suggested selling the peanuts at a high price. They said: "We have fully accomplished the task of sale of subsidiary farm products to the State and reserved enough seeds for the collective. If the remaining products could be sold for more money, the commune members would have a greater income and it would also be possible to get money for buying chemical fertilizer. What is bad about this?" Subsequently, they took the peanuts and sold them at a high price.

Why was it that some people refused to carry out the regulations which were written in black and white? We recalled Chairman Mao's great teaching, "There is no construction without destruction. Destruction means criticism and repudiation; it means revolution." Destruction and construction are unified dialectically. Without first destroying something old, we cannot establish something new. If we establish something new without first destroying something old and transform something without first criticizing it, the things established eventually cannot be of any use. It is obviously a bad thing to take the products of the collective to sell at a high price. Yet, some people ask, "What is bad about this?" Facts teach us: Only when we tightly grasp revolutionary mass criticism, really solve the problem "what is bad about this?" in our mind, see clearly the serious danger brought about by the tendency toward capitalism, shall we be able to resist and overcome the influence of tendency toward capitalism. The poor and lower-middle peasants have said this well: If we do not carry out revolutionary mass criticism, the tendency toward capitalism will be like "a loach in a hamper; if you close the lid, it will slip off at the other end."

Proceeding from this incident, we carried out a deep-going criticism against "free transaction," put its crimes on the table, talked about its danger, traced its root, and saw clearly its reactionary nature. Some poor and lower-middle peasants said: "'Free transaction' is a drug which renegade, hidden traitor and scab Liu Shao-ch'i uses to corrupt us. If we are poisoned by him, we shall go astray even though we may have gained much money." Some others said: "It is not money but selfishness we have gained, and it is capitalism and not socialism that has developed." The revolutionary mass criticism helped all heighten their consciousness. They established the new system ideologically and carried it out by solid action. Later, some people wanted to give us firewood at a low price for exchange of fish at a high price from our brigade. This profitable transaction was solemnly turned down by the cadres and the commune members. They said: "We resolutely do not do business in a capitalist way. No money in the world can buy our socialist ideas." They also criticized in person the man who offered this speculative transaction. He could not but go away dejectedly.

While paying attention to the principal tendency, we also take heed of another tendency that may be hidden. We act in strict accordance with the Party's policy. We draw a clear line of demarcation between free transaction and the independent production and marketing of subsidiary farm products in accordance with the State's regulations. We took the fish of the production team to the State-operated market and sold it at a low price.

We have learned deeply through practical struggle that during the struggle-criticism-transformation movement we must tightly grasp revolutionary mass criticism and put it in the first place. Only by carrying out revolutionary mass criticism shall we be able to tell capitalism from socialism, to know what we should destroy and what we should establish, and to know how to destroy the old and establish the new. Only when we have destroyed old things deeply shall we be able to establish new things firmly. The poor and lower-middle peasants say: "If we do not make mass criticism in one day, we cannot see capitalism clearly. If we do not make mass criticism in two days, we shall

stand on a wrong 'line' unwittingly. If we do not make mass criticism in three days, we shall be surrounded by revisionism. If we do not make mass criticism in a long period of time, our Party will become revisionist and our country will change its color politically. Criticizing the capitalist black goods is like weeding the field. After plowing the land, we also must loosen the soil. We must criticize revisionism until it is completely eliminated."

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Cultivating the Habit of Analysis

by

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In our brigade, at the mention of poor-peasant woman commune member Chin Shuai-mei, the poor and lower-middle peasants cannot help praising her as a grandma who has a red heart and warmly loves the collective. At the general rating at the end of last year, all unanimously rated her to be a five-good commune member.

Who knows it was she who was formerly called a "backward element"!

This was how it happened: This grandma who was in her sixties formerly neither took part in study nor attend meetings often. She often "scolded" other people. Other commune members thought she was very backward and were reluctant to associate with her. Some people said: "When we have good friends we can do good things. We should not associate with backward elements." The brigade cadre also left her alone on account of her old age.

After studying Chairman Mao's teaching, "Treat all questions analytically; do not negate everything," in his article, "Our Study and the Current Situation," we made an all-round analysis of her question through the viewpoint of dividing one into two. She was born of a poor peasant family. She suffered bitterly in the past so she deeply hated the old society and warmly loved the new. She looked backward. But, has she no merits? All paid attention to analyzing this question. Before the great proletarian cultural revolution, class struggle was acute and complicated in the countryside. A former landlord element came to her home and tried to take back the house in which she was living and which had been confiscated during the agrarian reform. In a rage, she ran to the brigade headquarters and asked straightforwardly: "What in the world are you communists doing!" At that moment, I did not consider her problem in an all-round manner and I thought that she was scolding me and that she was really backward. At this discussion, we found that it was out of her bitter hatred against the class enemy that she criticized us brigade cadres for failing to tightly grasp the class struggle and to keep a close watch over the enemy. She had "scolded"

us correctly and well. She had "scolded" us to the point. This showed that she had class consciousness.

Chairman Mao teaches us: "When we look at a thing, we must examine its essence and treat its appearance merely as an usher at the threshold." ("A Single Spark Can Start a Prairie Fire") In the past, we took her to be very "backward" because we only looked at the appearance and did not examine the essence, and we only saw that she "scolded" other people and we did not see that her "scolding" was sensible. In fact, in most cases she started from the point of showing solicitude for the collective and her "scolding" was sensible. She also had shortcomings, which, nevertheless, were secondary and not primary. And these shortcomings of hers were inseparable from the fact that we formerly had not treated her question in an all-round manner, had not examined the essence of her question and had not given her much help. The main question lay with us cadres.

"We must be good at discovering the enthusiasm of the masses in essence." (Note to an article, "Not All Is Backward in a So-called Backward Village.") After making an analysis, the cadres and the masses changed their views on her. They approached her on their initiative and often helped her and got together with her to study Chairman Mao's works and to compare the present with the past, to recall past bitterness and to think about the seizure of power, thereby further heightening her class consciousness and arousing her political fervor. Tempered in the great proletarian cultural revolution, she made very fast progress, took an active part in the political evening school, and diligently studied and creatively applied Mao Tsetung's thought. She could not read, but she asked her granddaughter to teach her to read, and she applied everything she had learned, thereby greatly heightening her consciousness. When the class enemies did not act honestly, she struggled against them face to face. She strictly criticized any deed she saw harming the collective to benefit the individual. She took an active part in the brigade's political activity. It snowed one day when the brigade called a Mao Tsetung thought study class. I did not tell her to go, considering her old age and the long way she had to walk. She took a bench and rushed to the class when she learned about this. She also blamed us for not informing her. The commune members said: "She really has become more revolutionary the older she grows. She becomes younger the older she grows."

During the great proletarian cultural revolution, a mass movement of learning philosophy was carried out in our brigade. We paid attention to creatively learning and applying Chairman Mao's philosophical idea, "Learn the method of analysis and cultivate the habit of analysis," ("Our Study and Current Situation") in close relation to the practice of the three great revolutionary movements and while bearing in mind the facts of the struggle-criticism-transformation movement, so as to transform our objective world and subjective world in a still better way. In the course of study, we have learned one thing in common: so long as we study and apply Mao Tsetung thought perseveringly, we will become more intelligent and our hearts will be redder.

* * *

How I Learn the "Dividing One into Two" Viewpoint

by

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Production Team, Ch'ihching Brigade,
Tienpai Hsien, Kwangtung

(Hung-ch'i [Red Flag], No. 4, March 31, 1970)

In August 1967, our production team unfolded the mass activity of studying and applying philosophy. In the past two years and more, the poor and lower-middle peasants cherished deep proletarian emotion and armed their minds with Chairman Mao's brilliant philosophical ideas. This gave a great impetus to the three great revolutionary struggles and the people's mental outlook went through a profound change. Our production team was rated to be a four-good production team in the past three years in succession, good personalities and good deeds emerged in an unending stream, and grain output increased year after year. Practice has made me understand that Chairman Mao's philosophical ideas are the sharp weapon in the hands of us poor and lower-middle peasants and that only by studying and applying Chairman Mao's philosophical ideas shall we be able to see things clearly and to firmly take the socialist road.

Belonging to a low cultural level, I met some difficulties in learning philosophy. Whenever I met a difficulty, I raised my head and looked at great leader Chairman Mao's brilliant image and recalled how my family had for the past three generations toiled as labor hands for the landlords. It was precisely because we had Chairman Mao and Mao Tsetung thought that we laboring people could have won emancipation. Today we must carry the Chinese revolution and the world revolution through to the end and, what is more, put the living study and application of Chairman Mao's works in the first position. Thus thinking, I persisted in my study. In the past few years, I acted in accordance with Vice Chairman Lin's instruction, "in learning Chairman Mao's works, we must bear our problems in mind, study and apply them in a living way, combine study with application, learn what is urgently needed, so as to produce fast results, and lay emphasis on 'application.'" I grasped a few basic viewpoints, studied and applied them repeatedly and produced fast results. For example, I learned a more impressive lesson when I learned to apply Chairman Mao's viewpoint of "dividing one into two."

I took the post of production team leader during the great proletarian cultural revolution. For the first ten days after I started my work, the masses put forward a few opinions on me. Why did the commune members and the masses have opinions on me? How should I correctly treat these opinions? Bearing these questions in mind, I studied for the first time the viewpoint of "dividing one into two." I also studied Chairman Mao's teaching, "We should not regard everything we do as positive and we should only regard the correct things as positive; meanwhile, we should not regard everything we do as negative and we should only regard the wrong things as negative," in his brilliant article, "Speech at the Chinese Communist Party's

National Conference on Propaganda Work." This enlightened me ideologically. I analyzed the work I had done during that period. I saw not only that I grasped production enthusiastically, but also that I neglected bringing proletarian politics to the fore; I saw not only that I wanted to do my work well, but also that I failed to arrange many things well when I took the post of production team leader. Looking at my work from the two sides in this way, I saw the results and understood the things which should be regarded as positive; I also saw the defects of my work, understood clearly the things which should be regarded as negative, and saw clearly the orientation in which I should strive in the future. Then, I patterned my work along the opinions put forward by the masses and found that their opinions were well-grounded and sensible. Answering Chairman Mao's great call and proceeding from the point of showing concern for affairs of State and interests of the collective, the poor and lower-middle peasants and commune members promptly put forward their opinions on the cadres. They helped me correct my shortcomings and helped me make revolution and march forward continuously. Wasn't this excellent? If I waited until problems piled up and then reckoned accounts and make corrections generally, wouldn't it be a big loss! Thus thinking, I felt lighthearted and immediately examined my shortcomings before the masses. After the meeting, an old poor peasant said: "Chao-ch'eng has done a right thing. He readily corrects his mistake. We have confidence in him." What he said made me understand that at all times must I apply the viewpoint of dividing one into two. When making an achievement, I should not feel conceited but must continue to develop this achievement; when I have made a mistake, I should not gloss over it but must resolutely correct it. Only in this way shall I be able to closely follow Chairman Mao and make revolution forever.

Learning the viewpoint of "dividing one into two" also enables me to correctly treat the good people who have made mistakes and to carry out Chairman Mao's proletarian policy. There is in our production team a Party member who toiled as a labor hand for decades and suffered deeply in the evil old society. After the liberation, he took the lead in struggling against the landlords and embarking on the road of cooperation, and did many good things for the poor and lower-middle peasants. Later, however, he neglected the living study and application of Chairman Mao's works and slackened transformation of world outlook, so that he once made a relatively serious mistake. During Party consolidation and Party building, some people suggested "getting rid" of him. But, some other people disagreed and suggested helping and saving him. Should we "get rid" of him or help him? Bearing this question in mind, I applied the viewpoint of "dividing one into two" and made an all-round analysis of the class and historical backgrounds of this Party member. I saw that his nature and main aspect were good and I also saw that he failed to withstand the test and made a mistake at the crucial moment. I saw the seriousness of his mistake and I also saw his desire to correct his mistake. After making this analysis, all unanimously held that he was a good man who made a mistake. With their thinking unified, all enthusiastically helped him see his mistake and enhance his consciousness of the class struggle and the struggle between the two lines and urged him to take an active part in the three great revolutionary struggles. This incident made me understand more clearly that I must not only look at myself through the

viewpoint of dividing one into two, but also look at the comrades through the viewpoint of dividing one into two, that I must encourage those who had made achievements and help those who had made mistakes and that in this way, it would be possible to exploit all active factors that could be exploited and to unite with all people could be united to march forward toward a common revolutionary target.

Our production team has a large population but insufficient farmland and the soil was sterile. This had all along been regarded as a "hard spot." After studying Chairman Mao's teaching about "dividing one into two," I realized that this was only one side of the matter. Chairman Mao teaches us: "We must learn to look at problems all-sidedly, seeing the reverse as well as the obverse side of things. In given conditions, a bad thing can lead to good results and a good thing to bad results." ("On the Correct Handling of Contradictions among the People") In accordance with Chairman Mao's teaching, I got together with the poor and lower-middle peasants to make an all-round and systematic analysis of the conditions in our production team. We unanimously agreed that: When there are many people, they will work enthusiastically and vigorously and put forward many ideas. It is a bad thing that there is insufficient farmland and the soil is sterile. But, this bad thing can be turned into a good thing under certain conditions. This means, "poverty gives rise to the desire for change, the desire for action and the desire for revolution. A white sheet of paper has nothing on it. On it we can write the newest and the most beautiful characters and draw the newest and the most beautiful picture." ("Introducing a Cooperative") From the unfavorable conditions we saw the favorable factors. We saw brightness through the difficulties. We plucked up our courage to change the Nature and to overcome difficulties. In this way, a new upsurge of farming the land for the revolutionary cause and farming the land by scientific methods was quickly whipped up throughout the production team, creating conditions for securing a bumper harvest in agriculture. The ten mow of land at Shihwutung formerly yielded only 300 catties each. After the soil had been improved and manure applied to it, the output per mow quickly rose to 900 catties. The commune members said: "We do not fear the sterile soil; we just fear that we lag behind ideologically. When people obey Chairman Mao's words, the land will obey them." Now, all are continuously marching toward production in depth and in width. They are determined to thoroughly change the outlook of the production team in a short period of time.

After studying and applying the viewpoint of "dividing one into two," I deeply realize that Chairman Mao's brilliant philosophical ideas scientifically reflect the law of the objective world and are a universally applicable truth. Once the revolutionary people grasp this sharp weapon, there will be no difficulty they cannot overcome, no problem they cannot solve, and no work they cannot accomplish, and they will triumph wherever they may be. I am determined to study and apply Chairman Mao's philosophical ideas in a still more living way in the future struggles, to transform my world outlook still more consciously, to do my work with better results, and to contribute my share toward the Chinese revolution and the world revolution.

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The Decisive Factor is People

by
the Workers' Study-Philosophy Group of the
Changch'un Municipal Glass Factory

(Hung-ch'i [Red Flag], No. 4, March 31, 1970)

At present, a new high tide in industrial production is emerging and the situation of the revolution and production is excellent. To implement to the full extent Chairman Mao's general line of "building socialism by going all-out and aiming high to achieve greater, faster, better and more economical results" and his great strategic policy of "be prepared against war, be prepared against natural disasters and do everything for the people," we must take Chairman Mao's philosophical thought as the weapon, fully bring the role of man's subjective initiative into play in the sphere of production, and correctly handle the relationship between human beings and things, thus enabling the mass movement for the increase of production and the practice of economy to advance in triumph along the orbit of Mao Tse-tung thought.

Material Conditions That Are Wanting Can Be Created

Last year, our factory was entrusted with the new task of experimenting with the manufacture of an important part for precision instruments that is called "bubble" for short. Everybody was bubbling with enthusiasm and was resolved to make a success of the task and to take practical action to carry out to the letter Chairman Mao's great strategic policy of "be prepared against war, be prepared against natural disasters and do everything for the people." It was imperative that this kind of new product must not be damaged by freezing at the temperature of 60 degrees below zero and must not be cracked by expansion at 50 degrees above zero. According to this demand, the trial manufacture of this product called for three conditions: the temperature must be maintained at a constant value and the place must be dust-proof and shock-proof. However, the instrument workshop was an old-style house facing the street, and whenever the tramcar passed by, the windows rattled. The house had a mud floor, mud walls and indigenous installations, and there was no thermostatic equipment. Seeing that the material conditions were wanting, what should be done? Some people advocated asking the state for money. The majority of comrades disagreed with this view, and they were for creating and doing things themselves.

The development of production and the trial manufacture of new products call for certain material conditions, and anyone who denies this is not a materialist. But the trial manufacture of any kind of new product often would encounter such a contradiction as the incompleteness of material conditions. In the eyes of those who readily stretch out their hands, the state must be asked for investment, for additional equipment and for allocation of materials, and no action can be taken until all conditions are complete. These comrades think only in terms of material conditions, and they fail to see that the masses of the people have unlimited creative power. They do not know that material conditions can be created by relying on people armed with Mao Tsetung thought. We of the working class are for

action. In our eyes, it is people, not things, that are decisive in the development of production and the scaling of pinnacles. As pointed out by Chairman Mao, "under the leadership of the Communist Party, so long as there are people, all miracles in the world can also be performed." ("Bankruptcy of the Idealistic Historical Outlook") Our comrades declared: "Of all conditions, people armed with Mao Tsetung thought constitute the No. 1 valuable condition. With the revolutionary spirit of hard struggle and self-reliance, we can create the material conditions that are wanting."

Although waiting for conditions and creating condition are different only in one word, yet they reflect the struggle between the two kinds of world outlook and the two lines. Stretching out hands to the state and waiting for conditions reflect that the pernicious influence of the revisionist line in operating enterprises has not been wiped out. Giving a hand to create conditions ourselves is the natural color of the proletariat, a manifestation of Chairman Mao's great thought on "self-reliance," "hard struggle" and "operating factories through diligence and frugality."

After the understanding was heightened, everybody at once joined the battle for the trial manufacture of the "bubble." Because there were no machines, manual operations were conducted, and we blazed the trail as we worked. Because there was no modern equipment, indigenous equipment was made to take the place of modern equipment. To guard against dust, we experimented with the manufacture of the "bubble" under a big glass cover. Because there was no thermostatic equipment, we energetically created conditions for maintaining the temperature at a constant value. When the temperature was high, we opened the windows and when the temperature was low, the place was heated with stoves. To guard against shock, we set the location for the "bubble" in the dead of night. By seeking cleanliness in an unclean environment, maintaining the changing temperature at a constant value and achieving stability in a place that rocked, we finally completed the trial manufacture of the "bubble" that was up to the mark. With deep understanding, they remarked: So long as there is the revolutionary spirit of self-reliance and hard struggle, it is possible to create the material conditions that are wanting, and new products can also be made with indigenous equipment so long as such indigenous equipment is scientific and rational.

Changing Unfavorable Conditions into Favorable Ones

Ours is an old plant with antiquated equipment and machinery and poor conditions. The old equipment proves to be incompetent when given a new production task. Some people have this to say: "Since the conditions of our plant are poor, let us do as much as we are capable of doing." They merely want to keep the status quo and do not want to make greater contributions. In the eyes of these comrades, the new task of industrial production cannot be accomplished because the conditions are poor. They see things but not human beings, and they fail to see that there is great socialist enthusiasm latent in the masses. Consequently, when faced by unfavorable conditions, they find themselves in the mire and are incapable of doing anything.

Materialistic dialectics tells us that contradictions can be transformed. So long as man's subjective initiative is brought into full play, the unfavorable conditions can be transformed into favorable conditions. The responsibility of us revolutionaries is to carry out such "transformation," such "change." As a matter of fact, in the process of production, provided we make greater use of our brains and hands to introduce technical innovations and improve technology and management, it is often possible to increase the output by a big extent and to improve the quality conspicuously. The successful transformation of the old pond furnace by our plant has eloquently illustrated this point.

Prior to the great proletarian cultural revolution, our plant spent more than 600,000 yuan to construct a pond furnace for the production of ampere tubes. At the time, because undue emphasis was placed on size and modernity, it was divorced from the reality in designing. After the furnace was commissioned for production, the output was low, the quality was poor, more coal was consumed, and the furnace often broke down. "Major breakdowns occurred three times in ten days, and minor defects were found every day." During the great cultural revolution, the workers fiercely criticized renegade Liu Shao-ch'i's "philosophy of the foreign slave," "doctrine of trailing behind at a snail's pace," and were resolved to recondition the old pond furnace, so as to transform the unfavorable conditions into favorable conditions.

In accordance with the great teaching that "it is wrong to appraise our work either from the viewpoint that everything is positive, or from the viewpoint that everything is negative" in Chairman Mao's "Speech at the Chinese Communist Party's National Conference on Propaganda Work," we made an all-round analysis and study of the pond furnace. As far as the pond furnace as a whole was concerned, there were truly many defects and the problems were quite big. But not all sections of the pond furnace were unusable. If everything were regarded as positive, then we would become conservative and seek no progress, but if everything were regarded as negative and kicked out, then waste would be incurred. We decided to rebuild eleven sections of the pond furnace. We formed a "three-in-one combination" technical reform group with the workers as the main body, and after more than two months of hard struggle, we finally successfully rebuilt the old pond furnace. After it was commissioned for production, the daily output was raised to three and a half tons compared with one and a half tons in the past, and the products that passed the standard rose to 90 percent compared with 50 percent in the past. The range of products was enlarged from two to 100 watts compared with from two to twenty watts in the past, and the quantity of coal consumed per day declined from 11 tons to nine and a half tons. All comrades declared that with a new leap in thought, the old equipment also made new contributions.

The successful rebuilding of the old pond furnace has taught each of us a great lesson. We come to understand that it is not the old equipment that cannot adapt itself to the new task but that it is our old way

of thinking that fails to match pace with the new situation. The contradiction between the old equipment and the new task is essentially one between the old way of thinking and the new situation. So long as our minds are armed with Mao Tsetung thought and man's subjective initiative is brought into full play, damaged machines can be repaired, and old equipment can be rebuilt, thus transforming unfavorable conditions into favorable conditions.

Let the Limited Material Conditions Play a Greater Role

The glass trade is one that consumes a greater quantity of coal. After making a penetrating study of Chairman Mao's great teaching on "operating factories through diligence and frugality," our comrades thought: Could we use less coal to put out more products and let the limited material conditions play the maximum role? Some people thought that this could not be done. They declared: A given quantity of coal is prescribed to smelt a given quantity of material. The burning of 2.2 tons in a circular furnace is a rule that has been established for many years, and the material cannot be smelted with less coal.

Chairman Mao teaches us: "In seeking victory, those who direct a war cannot overstep the limitations imposed by the objective conditions; within these limitations, however, they can and must play a dynamic role in striving for victory." ("On Protracted War") Objective material conditions have certain limitations, and the question lies in how we bring man's subjective initiative into full play within these limitations of the objective conditions, so as to let the limited material conditions play a greater role. In the eyes of those with conservative ideas, it is the material conditions, not the human factor, that are decisive. They transform such conditions into "incantations" that tie them hand and foot. We are of the view that conditions are dead while human beings are alive, and that material conditions are created and controlled by human beings. Only by arming people's minds with Mao Tsetung thought and making maximum use of manpower can things be put to full use.

The victories won continuously by our plant in the battle for the economy of coal fully show that there is no end to the ideological revolutionization of man and that the potentials of material conditions are inexhaustible.

In the winter of last year, our factory launched a great battle for the economy of coal. The broad masses of revolutionary workers made suggestions and thought of ways to unearth latent strength and secrets, thus quickly whipping up a high tide in the economy of coal. Some people reformed the old-type boilers, and some improved the operational techniques. They passed on valuable experiences to each other and launched the right dimension of emulation in the economy of coal. The revolutionary workers of the No. 12 circular furnace took the lead and reported success in the first battle. Fearing neither hardship nor fatigue, they squatted by the side of the

furnace to observe and master the law of coal combustion. They reformed the method of cleaning the furnace and as a result, the quantity of coal consumed by the circular furnace dropped at one stroke to 1.75 tons compared with more than two tons in the past, thus saving coal by 20 percent.

At that time, some people expressed their satisfaction saying: "With the coal burned into ashes, there is nothing useful left." Was it true that there was nothing useful left? Chairman Mao pointed out: "In the fields of the struggle for production and scientific experiment, mankind makes constant progress and nature undergoes constant change; they never remain at the same level." ("Quotations from Chairman Mao," p. 174) In accordance with this great teaching, we went further to unearth the latent strength and discovered that although the coal had given off the maximum quantity of heat, yet the heat was not entirely used in production. An old worker declared: No coal lump should be burned in vain, and not a thermal unit should be permitted to escape. Following this, we utilized the surplus heat on a large scale. We installed at the pond furnace three boilers that utilized the surplus heat and kicked out two units of coal-consuming tigers. More than 430 tons of coal could be saved in the whole year, and the mass movement for the economy of coal made further headway in our plant.

With every lump of coal burned to ashes and with all surplus heat also utilized, it appeared that all methods that could be thought of had been thought of and all potentialities that could be tapped had been tapped. Some people said: "We have tapped all potentialities this time." Had all potentialities been tapped in the true sense? No. By adopting a new technique to replace boilers in the production of distilled water, the thermos workshop enabled us to find a new way to produce certain things without the use of coal, and the coal-saving movement of our plant was pushed toward a new stage. In the past, this workshop needed four tons of distilled water every day, and this had to be manufactured with 100 tons of tap water by two boilers consuming two tons of coal. After adopting this new technique, four tons of distilled water could be manufactured with five tons of tap water without the use of coal. With deep understanding everybody declared: "Burning coal calls first for tempering the way of thinking, and it takes a red heart to light a blazing fire. Only through bringing man's subjective initiative into full play can the limited material conditions play the maximum role."

The great leader Chairman Mao teaches us: "Weapons are an important factor in war, but not the decisive factor; it is people, not things, that are decisive." ("On Portracted War") To set great store by the human factor or merely to emphasize the material conditions--this is not merely a question of general understanding, but also a question of whether or not Chairman Mao's revolutionary line is carried out. So long as we persist in bringing proletarian politics to the fore, energetically grasping the ideological revolutionization of man and bringing man's subjective initiative into

full play, we can give a hand to creating gradually the material conditions that are wanting and transforming the material conditions that are unfavorable, and when certain material conditions are available, we can let the limited material conditions play a greater role, thus impelling the uninterrupted development of socialist production.

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Shatter the Foreign Conventions

by

the Workers' Study-Philosophy Group of No. 3
Workshop of Tientsin Chemical
Engineering Plant

(Hung-ch'i [Red Flag], No. 4, March 31, 1970)

Inspired by the spirit of the "9th Congress" of the Party, the revolutionary workers of our workshop--in accordance with Chairman Mao's great teaching, "Shatter the foreign conventions and take our own road in industrial development"--have brought into play the revolutionary spirit of daring to destroy the old and good at innovation, and designed and manufactured ourselves a tower-type chloride-making machine, thus blazing a new trail for achieving greater, faster, better and more economical results in the production of chloral.

Chloral is an important industrial chemical extensively used by the insecticide and pharmaceutical industries. In the past, the technological equipment we used to produce this kind of industrial chemical was the ladder-type chloride-making machine copied from other countries. This type of chloride-making machine is massive in size and calls for the construction of a five-storey tall factory building. The technological process is long and the operational procedure is complicated. The production efficiency is low and it takes more than sixty hours to convert the raw material into the finished product. Furthermore, much raw material is consumed, thus directly affecting the development of the production of chloral at a high speed. Compared with the ladder-type chloride-making machine used in other countries, the tower-type chloride-making machine invented by us is much less massive. Its technological process is shortened by almost two-thirds and its production efficiency is raised by more than double. Less raw material is consumed and the quality of the product is good.

The invention of the tower-type chloride-making machine tells us that in order to take its own road in industrial development, China must shatter the foreign conventions and possess the revolutionary spirit of destroying the old and creating the new. If we dare not destroy the old, we can only trail behind others at a snail's pace forever. If we are not good at innovation, we have no way to scale the pinnacles of science and technology in the world.

"The supersession of the old by the new is a general, eternal and inviolable law of the universe." ("On Contradiction") The process of destroying the old and creating the new is the metabolic process that drives things forward. Society is advancing continuously in the process of destroying the old and creating the new, and science is also developing continuously in the process of destroying the old and creating the new. In order to destroy the old and create the new, it is imperative to free our minds of restrictive ideas. As long as there are restrictive ideas, our minds are

fettered, we dare not jump clear of the conventions when we think over problems, and science and technology will also see no development.

Poisoned by renegade, hidden traitor and scab Liu Shao-ch'i's philosophy of the compradors and foreign slaves and his doctrine of trailing behind at a snail's pace, some people have so much blind faith in the modern equipment of other countries that they simply dare not touch it, not to say destroy it. In the process of reforming the technological equipment for the manufacture of chloral, we came across such conditions.

Actually this is a kind of metaphysical viewpoint. They perceive only that such modern facilities represent the past scientific and technical experiences summed up by people, but fail to see that since the coming of such equipment to the world, people have accumulated more new experiences in the process of production practice. As a result of the continuous development of science and technology, the advanced technical equipment of the past has now become backward, and if such equipment were not reformed by destroying the old and creating the new, the development of production would be hampered.

What we destroy is superstition, but not science. On the contrary, we are for the further development of science and for creating new things according to the objective law governing the development of things. In the course of reforming the technological equipment for the production of chloral, we employed the thought of "one divides into two." First, we conscientiously studied the structural theory of the ladder-type chloride-making machine, and analyzed its whole process of production from feeding material to turning out the product. We held that the emergence of chloral as a result of the chemical reaction of alcohol and chlorine under given conditions is a scientific theory that cannot be toppled. Although the foreign equipment was designed and manufactured according to this scientific theory, yet because the area of contact between the particles of the gas and liquid is small, the chemical reaction is not sufficiently developed, thus giving rise to the fatal weaknesses of bulkiness, long technological process and low production efficiency. Based on this analysis, all revolutionary workers in our workshops made suggestions and taxed their resourcefulness, and on the strength of the rich experience accumulated in production practice, they designed a plan for creating a tower-type chrloride-making machine.

A plan is but a theory, and whether it is compatible with the objective external laws has yet to be tested in practice. When we set out to experiment with the tower-type cloride-making machine, it came as a surprise that no chemical reaction took place between the two kinds of basic raw materials--alcohol and chlorine. What was the reason? To clear things up, we followed Chairman Mao's teaching concerning "practice, knowledge, again practice and again knowledge" in "On Practice." We fixed a field-glass on the test equipment and directly observed the test. After repeating the test a number of times, we finally found out why the two kinds of basic raw

materials could not react on each other, and we adopted appropriate measures to solve the contradiction responsible for the inability of alcohol and chlorine to react on each other. With this contradiction solved, new contradictions appeared one after another, but we overcame them one by one with the revolutionary spirit of daring to think and act and the scientific attitude of seeking truth from facts. Such a new technological equipment as the tower-type chloride-making machine was thus successfully trial manufactured.

"New things always have difficulties and ups and downs to get over as they grow." ("On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People") The process of creating the tower-type chloride-making machine was also replete with the struggle between materialistic dialectics and metaphysics.

Some people say: "This to give up the shortcut for the longer route." In their eyes, the copying of foreign equipment is the shortcut, while to destroy the old and create the new is the longer route. This view has actually transposed the longer and shorter routes. When looking at a question, we cannot just see the appearance but must see through the appearance to get at the essence. Materialistic dialectics tells us that everything has its own law of development. The process of destroying the old and creating the new is a process for exploring and grasping this law. Each success in the destruction of the old and the creation of the new is a leap in the knowledge of the objective laws governing things. The deeper the objective laws are known and grasped by people, the greater is the chance of success in the practice of transforming the objective world. Speaking in this sense, our taking the road of destroying the old and creating the new is the genuine shortcut. If we dare not shatter the foreign conventions and just trail behind others at a snail's pace, this is truly the longer route.

Of course, due to the incompatibility of our subjective guidance with the objective practical circumstances, we also would take the roundabout way on the road forward. Is this treading the longer route? There is in this connection the question of how to look at correctly the failure in scientific experiments. Chairman Mao teaches us: "Mistakes often are the vanguard of correctness." ("Reform Our Study") So long as we learn lessons from failures and correct our own thought to cope with the external laws, we can turn failure into success. This is the fact. In the process of creating the tower-type chloride-making machine, we failed to grasp fully the laws governing the production of chloral, and after a number of experiments in one and a half months, we were without success. Prima facie, it appeared that we took the longer route and consumed much manpower and time. However, as we gradually understood and grasped the objective laws, we finally found in the course of practice the new technology for achieving greater, faster, better and more economical results in the production of chloral. By adopting the new technical equipment, we greatly raised the production efficiency, thus turning the "longer route" into a shortcut. "One must give first in order to take," and there is no gain without loss. Judged by present appearance, it seems that the "longer route" is taken. But seen in the light of long-range development, the shortcut has actually been taken.

Learning the advance experiences of other people can help us tread a less tortuous road. It is wrong to adopt the attitude of repudiating the advanced experiences of other people. But learning is for the sake of creating, not of copying. Prior to creating the new technological equipment for the production of chloral, we conscientiously summed up the rich practical experience of the workers of our plant, and learned at the same time the advanced techniques and experiences of other people. Having received great enlightenment from such technological reforms as the reduction of the size of chemical engineering production equipment, the simplification of the complex procedure and the shortening of the long process, we decided to create the technological equipment in the form of a new chloride-making machine. In the process of creating it, we learned lessons on the question of learning and creation. At first, we adopted a kind of equipment for producing other chemical products to experiment with the production of chloral, but found this inapplicable. From this lesson we come to learn profoundly that the experiences learned from other people must be utilized analytically and creatively according to one's own actual conditions and it won't do to swallow them raw and whole. We must be creative in learning, pay primary attention to creation, set our feet and eyes on creation, and take our own road in industrial development.

The birth of the tower-type chloride-making machine once again shows that guided by Chairman Mao's great policy of "independence and self-reliance," once the enthusiasm and creativeness of the working class are brought into full play, we certainly can swiftly build China into a socialist modernized power for making greater contributions to aiding the world revolution.

* * *

The Dialectics of Safety in Motoring

by

Hsueh Hsiang-tung (薛何东)
Transportation Company of a Certain PLA Unit

(Hung-ch'i [Red Flag], No. 4, March 31, 1970)

I enlisted in the army in 1968 and after short-period training I began to drive alone to carry out transportation assignments. In carrying out my assignments, I had specific problems in mind and studied and applied creatively Chairman Mao's great theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. I used Mao Tsetung thought to control the steering wheel and kept on summing up experience from a divisive point of view. I drove 35,200 km. safely and without any accident. For two years in succession I was rated a five-good fighter.

Great leader Chairman Mao teaches us: "Thought and politics are the commander and the soul. Whenever our ideological and political work is slightly relaxed our economic work and technical work will go astray." Practice over the past year and more has made me deeply realize that driving also involves a struggle between the two ideologies. Only by bringing proletarian politics to the fore, revolutionizing our mind and putting technique under the command of politics and mechanization under the command of revolution can we cope with complicated circumstances, surmount various difficulties and carry out our assignments.

Prepared Versus Unprepared

Our company is stationed in a large city with many streets and numerous pedestrians. When I first carried out assignments alone, I often found myself in unexpected circumstances. Some people said: "A machine is itself dangerous and sudden accidents are unavoidable." This sounded true and I was apprehensive that some day an accident might occur in my case.

After I studied Chairman Mao's writings I felt that this thinking was not in accord with Chairman Mao's teaching. Chairman Mao teaches us: "When you do anything, unless you understand its actual circumstances, its nature and its relations to other things, you will not know the laws governing it, or know how to do it, or be able to do it well." ("Problems of Strategy in China's Revolutionary War") The point is that we must know and master the laws governing our work.

Driving in a city we come across pedestrians almost at each step. I used to make an observation of the pedestrians in various circumstances. I would turn it over in my mind whether they were people just coming from the countryside or people living in the city and whether they were hurrying on the way or were pondering over some problems. Having sized up the situations I would decide whether to drive slowly and which gear I should use. Thus, I had figures, "a table of men and things" and "a living map" in my mind and could cope with various circumstances. When I came across a person

who seemed to be pondering over some problems, I would blow the horn some distance ahead. If I blew the horn only when my vehicle was near him, he might get a start, not knowing which side to turn to dodge. If so, man and vehicle might dodge each other and eventually run up against each other. As a rule, when children crossed the street along the zebra line, they would walk behind the elders if they were single ones; if they were in a group and if one of them took the lead, all the rest would run after him in succession. They would run even faster when urged by the people's police. When I found myself in such a situation, I would pay particular attention to the leading child.

One day I was about to reach the entrance of a side street when suddenly a small iron ring was rolling along from the side street. I was instantly conscious of one thing: some one might be behind the rolling ring. I applied the brake right away. The next thing I found was that a little boy was emerging from the side street, chasing the ring. The more the motorists familiarize themselves with the circumstances and master the laws of activity, the less unexpected circumstances will arise and the more the motorists can retain the initiative.

However, there are things unknown to us and we may find ourselves in unexpected circumstances in the course of driving.

Once, a bicycle-riding peasant was seen in front of me at the right side. I blew the horn to make him get out of the way. He suddenly turned to the left and fell in the middle of the road. It was too late to apply the brake, and I used all my strength to turn the steering wheel, cleared the road and came to a stop.

Since the incident I have made a point of coping with unexpected circumstances in the same way as I cope with a sudden attack, getting constantly prepared for unexpected circumstances. On the one hand, I would be ever on the alert. I would regard a wide road as a narrow one, a good road as a bad one, less pedestrians as more pedestrians, drive on a road without pedestrians as if on a road with pedestrians, and take an empty vehicle as a loaded one. I would keep pedestrians and vehicles at a certain distance, leaving enough room for maneuver. On the other, I would make material preparations. I would see to it that my vehicle is frequently lubricated, tightened up, overhauled and inspected and is checked up before leaving the pool, on the way and after returning to the pool. My vehicle would be kept in a state of war preparedness and could be efficiently used any time. The mechanical parts would be kept in good order.

There is a big difference between preparations and lack of preparations. Being prepared we can appropriately cope with all sorts of unexpected circumstances and retain the initiative.

Favorable Conditions Versus Unfavorable Conditions

Drivers in general prefer broad, flat roads and shun winding streets and rugged mountain roads. They prefer new vehicles to old ones. They believe

that their assignments can be carried out under favorable conditions and that if conditions are unfavorable, accidents are likely to occur.

Once I was driving to a city and on the way saw an overturned truck lying on an asphalt road. To my mind, the accident might be due to the carelessness of the driver. I was pondering over the matter when a truck was speeding from the opposite direction. It was overtaking a tricycle and, as the tricycle rider did not yield and forced a passage through, he encroached upon my lane. I didn't concentrate my mind at the moment and did not notice what was happening. There was an immediate danger of collision. Instantly I used all my strength to turn my steering wheel, cleared the road and drove to the pedestrian path, thus avoiding an accident. This event made me realize that "external causes are the condition of change, internal causes are the basis of change, and external causes become operative through the internal causes." ("On Contradiction") Factors like the state of roads and conditions of vehicles have effect on safety in motoring but what is decisive is man. If we think in terms of serving the people, constantly bear in mind Chairman Mao's teaching--"Our duty is to hold ourselves responsible to the people. Every word, every act and every policy must conform to the people's interests"--contained in "The Situation and Our Policy after Victory over Japan" and if we hold ourselves fully responsible each time we step on the accelerator, turn the steering wheel and apply the brake, then unfavorable factors like bad road and old vehicle can be transformed under given conditions and safety insured in motoring. If we do not assume such an attitude, even good road and new vehicle cannot insure against accidents. For this reason, whenever I drove on a broad road with less pedestrians, I would sharpen my vigilance and keep my speed within a definite limit. I would not drive fast without limit, nor drive like "heroes" and "one striving for mastery." Some comrades are fond of being driven fast. In such circumstances I will still keep my head cool, not allowing myself to show temper and to be swayed by sentiments. I will remain enthusiastic and calm and work hard but in an orderly manner. Under no circumstances will I step on the accelerator at will.

When I have a bad road or foul weather I will follow Chairman Mao's teaching--"This army has an indomitable spirit. It will overpower all enemies and will not be subdued by the enemy"--contained in "One Coalition Government." I will try to surmount the difficulties on the forward road and strive for victories.

Once a comrade and I were delivering timber from a hsien to a "May 7" school in another hsien. It was pitch dark and the wind was strong. The road was rugged and, even with a head light we could not get a clear view of the road ahead. A little carelessness would cause us to fall into a ditch. We drove on and off, turned one danger corner after another, and crossed one river after another. We reached a newly built dam and found the slope was steep and slippery. Twice we failed to negotiate the slope. We could not see what was below because the head light was turned skywards. We got off and felt the road surface with our feet and hands. We fought hard this way before we negotiated the high slope and triumphantly arrived at our destination.

On another occasion, we were carrying out our assignment in heavy snow. The road was narrow and slippery. Many pedestrians were moving on the road, making it inconvenient to drive. Crossing a road we found a bicycle-riding worker at a point some 20 meters ahead of us, who was in the act of dodging a truck behind. I recognized that he might slip and fall. So I concentrated my attention and exercised particular care. True enough, he slipped and fell in the middle of the road at a point 6 meters away from me. Since I was prepared and resolute measures were taken beforehand, a grave accident was averted.

Chairman Mao teaches us: "In his endeavor to win a war, a military man cannot overstep the limits imposed by the material conditions; within these limits, however, he can and must strive for victory. The stage of action for a military man is built upon objective material conditions, but on that state he can direct the performance of many a drama, full of sound and color, power and grandeur." ("Problems of Strategy in China's Revolutarionary War") As it is with fighting so it is with driving. As long as proletarian politics is brought to the fore and the subjective activity of the vehicle driver is brought into full play, safety in motoring can be insured and assignments carried out even under unfavorable conditions.

Experience Versus Inexperience

When I first carried out driving assignments alone, I was not daring enough in my work because I felt I was inexperienced. What to do? Chairman Mao teaches us: "Reading is learning and applying is also learning and more important kind of learning at that. Our chief method is to learn warfare through warfare." ("Problems of Strategy in China's Revolutionary War") In accord with Chairman Mao's teaching I took the initiative in receiving assignments. In the process of carrying out my assignments I paid attention to summing up experience and, with an open mind, learned from other comrades. I observed the way others carried out their assignments and the way I carried out mine, and gained some experience in this respect. Whenever others met with an accident, I would seriously analyze and study it, find out its cause and check up whether similar accients were likely to occur in my case. From this check-up I learned lessons of experience. The masses are always our teachers. Without learning the advanced experience of others, no progress can be made. Without learning lessons of experience from the accidents involving others, I will find it very difficult to avoid similar accidents.

After studying Chairman Mao's splendid philosophical thinking I deeply realized that experience and inexperience are also relative to each other and that under given conditions inexperience can be transformed into experience. The key lies in a correct way of thinking.

When I first carried out driving assignments alone I feared accidents and lacked courage because my technical level was low and I was inexperienced. In view of this, I decided to dispel "fear" and become daring, set my mind free and assume a positive attitude towards my job.

For a time no accident occurred and I became self-complacent. To me, driving was not something so difficult. I wanted to drive fast to show off. This mentality, if not overcome in the right time, would cause trouble.

At that time I took the following course: I tackled the incipient problems, sized up the dangers, dug the roots and asked my comrades to revise the specific measures I had drawn up.

After driving for a long time, raising my technical level and becoming experienced in coping with various circumstances flexibly, I was inclined to come to terms with the present and disinclined to make further progress ideologically and technically. It was at that point that I studied Chairman Mao's teaching: "Many things may become burdens, may become encumbrances, if we cling to them blindly and uncritically." ("Our Study and the Current Situation") I strove to cultivate a style of modesty and circumspection and to guide my action with the idea of uninterrupted revolution. I took the driver's cab as my classroom for living study and application of Mao Tsetung thought, learning wherever I went. I took the driving process as a process of living study and application of Mao Tsetung thought, as a process of fighting self-interest and repudiating revisionism and as a process of transforming my outlook on the world. I cultivated boundless loyalty to Chairman Mao in the course of actual struggle.

After one year of practice and learning from others, I am now able to constantly think of three things and bear in mind one thing. That is to say, I constantly think of great leader Chairman Mao, regarding driving as a specific action to remain loyal to Chairman Mao and as a matter of contributing to the Chinese revolution and world revolution; constantly think of the class struggle, taking my vehicle as an instrument of class struggle, driving in the interest of the dictatorship of the proletariat, raising my vigilance from time to time, and denying the class enemy of any chance; constantly think of the defense of our fatherland, observing, checking and implementing everything from the viewpoint of war preparedness, and making my thought, style, work and life militant enough to meet the requirement of war preparedness; I constantly bear in mind that our duty is to hold ourselves responsible to the people that our every word and action must conform to the people's interests, and we must devote ourselves to defending, cherishing and serving the people with all our hearts. In the unlikely event of an accident occurring in motoring, I will not hesitate to make a self-sacrifice and protect the interests of the people with my life and blood.

A vehicle runs under constantly changing circumstances; the handling of a steering wheel varies with different world outlooks. Only by studying Mao Tsetung thought in creative ways, revolutionizing our mind and putting technique under the command of politics can we triumphantly advance along Chairman Mao's revolutionary line under any circumstance.

* * *

Is There Such a Thing As One Supreme Effort to Win Eternal Ease?

by

The Correspondence Team of Hoheng Production Brigade
of T'ai Hsien, Kiangsu

(Hung-ch'i [Red Flag], No. 4, March 31, 1970)

After several years of hard work by the vast masses of poor and lower-middle peasants, Hoheng Production Brigade has basically completed a large dike.

Four meters high and three meters wide on the top, the dike is lined with trees. At a distance, it looks like a huge dragon lying at the edge of the river. Standing in front of the dike, some people said: "Now, after one supreme effort we can have eternal ease. We can sit back and relax."

Once this idea raised its head, it brought a controversy focused on the question: Is there such a thing as one supreme effort to win eternal ease?

Chairman Mao teaches us: "In a class society, class struggle will not come to an end. In a classless society, the struggle between what is new and what is old, and between what is correct and what is wrong, all go on and never end. In the realms of production struggle and scientific experiments, man always continues to develop, and nature too will continue to develop and never remain on the same level." ("Quotations from Chairman Mao," p. 174)

When we first proposed to build the dike and other water conservation works, a handful of class enemies desperately tried to oppose us. And when the dike was completed, they continued to carry out disruptive activities in other forms. Our large dike should be viewed from the high criterion of "preparing for war, preparing for natural disasters, and doing everything for the people." Some weak links still exist. A thousand-li long dike may cause a catastrophe if a little part of it falls into decay through a moment of negligence. Therefore, we must think of the potential dangers that may lie ahead while we are enjoying a period of ease. We must adopt high criteria and make exacting demands on work in order to achieve the best possible results.

Everything is in perpetual motion, developing and changing. After a contradiction has been solved, a new one may emerge and need to be solved. The idea of making one supreme effort to win eternal ease will cause one to have pacifist and lethargic notions, relax one's revolutionary will, and in the end halt the revolution and give away the fruits of the revolution. After a battle it is necessary to have the needed regrouping precisely for the purpose of preparing for the next battle. This is essentially distinct from the idea of one supreme effort to win eternal ease.

The idea of one supreme effort to win eternal ease is metaphysical;

it is the philosophy of the lazybone. The reason why some people have got this idea is that they are afraid of hardship and of struggle. The philosophy of the proletariat is the philosophy of struggle, the philosophy of continuous revolution. Comrade Yang Shui-ts'ai is our splendid example. As far as our brigade is concerned, a great deal of work remains to be done if we are to reap new bumper farm harvests; and so far as socialist transformation and construction in our countryside are concerned, the tasks are even harder. We must therefore always promote the thoroughgoing revolutionary spirit of "fearing neither hardship nor death" and strive the hard way for still greater victories.

Chairman Mao points out: "Man always has to sum up experience continuously, discover something, invent something, create something and march forward." ("Quotations from Chairman Mao," p. 174). After studying this teaching, the broad masses of poor and lower-middle peasants said resolutely: "We must not have eternal ease after one supreme effort; we must continue to march forward!"

Heavy rain fell in the summer of last year. The water level of the river rose rapidly. All of us were watching the dike around the clock and made prompt repairs where damage had been discovered. The leadership of the brigade, grasping revolution and promoting production, further mobilized the masses penetratingly, strongly criticized the towering crimes of the handful of class enemies in sabotaging the water conservation project. It called an oath-taking rally where people pledged to stir up a new upsurge in water conservancy. The water conservation project was advanced to its second stage--dredging a new river, filling up an old river, and building farmland. We are happy to see that Hoheng Production Brigade has continued to make revolution and advance on the basis of the victories already gained!

* * *

Make a Success of Distribution Work to Disseminate Mao Tsetung Thought

by

Revolutionary Committee of Mengchin Hsien, Honan

(Hung-ch'i [Red Flag], No. 4, March 31, 1970)

The great proletarian cultural revolution has pushed the dissemination and popularization of Mao Tsetung thought on a large scale. In our hsien, as in other parts of the country, the number of Chairman Mao's brilliant writings distributed rose drastically during the great cultural revolution, particularly since the establishment of the hsien revolutionary committee.

In the hsien, more than 60,000 copies of "Selected Works of Mao Tsetung" have been distributed--more than 15 times the total number distributed in the 15 years before the great proletarian cultural revolution. This is in addition to the more than 600,000 copies of booklets of Chairman Mao's works, more than 270,000 copies of "Quotations from Chairman Mao," and more than 650,000 copies of Chairman Mao's portrait distributed. Thus, every household has a copy of "Selected Works of Mao Tsetung."

Besides, we have also distributed more than 1,600 copies of Jen-min Jih-pao and more than 3,200 copies of each issue of Hung-ch'i, thus spreading in time the various combat orders issued by the Party Central Committee with Chairman Mao as the leader and Vice Chairman Lin as the deputy.

Chairman Mao's works, distributed in such huge numbers, have satisfied the demands of the broad masses of poor and lower-middle peasants for studying Mao Tsetung thought, encouraged the rapid growth of the mass movement for creative study and application of Mao Tsetung thought, and pushed the struggle-criticism-transformation movement ahead. As a result, the situation of revolution and production in the hsien is steadily improving. Said the broad masses of poor and lower-middle peasants: "With Red precious books in our hands and the Red sun in our hearts, we have a sharp vision and a strong resolve in taking the socialist road, and we will not lose our way."

At the beginning, however, some comrades had this to say: "The distribution work is the business of the professional departments. There is no need for the revolutionary to pay too much attention to it." We thought that this viewpoint was extremely erroneous. Vice Chairman Lin has instructed us: "There are thousands of tasks for the revolutionary committee. It is therefore necessary to grasp the fundamental ones." ("Report at the 9th National Congress of the Chinese Communist Party")

To carry out active propaganda, distribute Chairman Mao's works extensively, and make Chairman Mao's books available to the broad masses of poor and lower-middle peasants and revolutionary masses--this is the prerequisite for the dissemination of Mao Tsetung thought. Whether we should undertake the distribution of Chairman Mao's works is in fact the question of whether we should

grasp the fundamental task. Thereupon, we organized members of the revolutionary committees at various levels to make repeated study of Vice Chairman Lin's important instruction concerning the study, publicity, execution and defense of Mao Tsetung thought and join the broad masses of the poor and lower-middle peasants in strongly refuting the heinous crimes of the renegade, hidden traitor and scab Liu Shao-ch'i and associates who disrupted the distribution of Chairman Mao's works.

The poor and lower-middle peasants said angrily: "Liu Shao-ch'i, this bad egg, did not let us read Chairman Mao's books because he was afraid that when we mastered Mao Tsetung thought, we would see through his scheme of restoring capitalism." After study and criticism and the unifying of thinking, all of us realized even more deeply that mass distribution of Chairman Mao's works and letting Mao Tsetung thought occupy all positions is necessary for the continuation of the revolution as well as for the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat. It won't do to have the professional departments alone to grasp such a fundamental thing. It must be handled seriously under the unified leadership of the revolutionary committee.

To do a good job of distribution work, it is essential to have the personnel of professional departments revolutionize their thinking. Some comrades pay lip service to bringing politics to the fore; in practical work they often proceed from the purely economic point of view in seeking profits. When doing distribution, they follow the "three lines" in city and town; namely, they go only to the State organs, schools and health clinics. When they go to the rural areas, they take the big paths and not the narrow and remote paths. A small number of commercial departments even regard the distribution of Chairman Mao's works as the business of bookstores and is no business of theirs.

In accordance with Chairman Mao's great teaching on "no construction without destruction," we organized the broad revolutionary masses of departments concerned to develop the revolutionary mass criticism in depth, strongly refuting Liu Shao-ch'i's sinister theories of "profit in command" and "business first," thereby further cleaning out "Liu's poisons." As a result, they solidly established the thought of serving proletarian politics and serving the workers, peasants and soldiers. They recognized that making a success of distribution of Chairman Mao's works is for the purpose of disseminating the great Mao Tsetung thought, fighting for ideological positions with the bourgeoisie, promoting the ideological revolutionization of man, pushing the three major revolutionary movements of class struggle, production struggle and scientific experiments, and consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat. This is an extremely important political task. At the same time, we have made the necessary readjustments and reinforcements for the bookstores.

To grasp the distribution work seriously and well, it is also imperative to mobilize and rely on the masses. Chairman Mao says: "Every kind of work requires a mass movement." In accordance with this teaching, we gradually established, from points to the whole area, a vast distribution network under the unified leadership of the revolutionary committee. This network includes the Hsinhua bookstores, Mao Tsetung thought propaganda stations of basic-level supply and marketing cooperatives, and the propaganda

and distribution personnel among the poor and lower-middle peasants in the rural areas. We have thus formed a large propaganda and distribution contingent with the Party and League members as the backbone and composed of basic-level militiamen, demobilized armymen, revolutionary teachers and students, barefoot doctors, and educated youths who have come to the rural areas. This contingent is full of vigor.

Today, every production team, every factory and every unit in the hsien has its propaganda and distribution staff. In spite of the large number of hills and gullies, the lack of transportation facilities and people living in scattered places, it is possible to insure timely supply of Chairman Mao's works to every production team. Whenever Chairman Mao's latest directive is made public, it is possible to send it on the same day to the masses in the quickest way possible. Whatever the circumstances, it is possible to send Chairman Mao's directives and the Party Central Committee's combat orders to all corners of the hsien without the least delay. This is not only a major reform of distribution work but also an important measure for the implementation of Chairman Mao's great strategic policy of "preparing for war, preparing for natural disasters, and doing everything for the people."

To make a success of distribution work, it is additionally essential to combine distribution and propaganda closely with guiding the masses to study Chairman Mao's works. Chairman Mao teaches us: "The Red Army not only fights but also does propaganda among the masses, organizes the masses and arms the masses." ("On Correcting Mistaken Ideas Within the Party") This is also true of distribution work. Since the establishment of our hsien revolutionary committee, apart from carrying out distribution work daily, we also carry out propaganda and educational activities in the light of the Party's central work and the demands of the masses.

While warmly celebrating the opening of the 9th Party Congress, the 12 communes in the hsien held their separate mass rallies and ceremoniously started the distribution of "Selected Works of Mao Tsetung" (pocket-size editions), "Quotations from Chairman Mao" and Chairman Mao's portraits. The principal responsible comrades of the hsien and commune revolutionary committee praised the great deeds done by Chairman Mao to the Chinese and world revolutions in speeches delivered at the rallies. They described how Chairman Mao had ingeniously, creatively and comprehensively inherited, defended and developed Marxism-Leninism and spoke of the great victories of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line.

The broad revolutionary masses said: Chairman Mao's books are a magic weapon for winning emancipation, building socialism, defeating imperialism, revisionism and reaction and realizing communism. We must read Chairman Mao's books well, take heed of his words, and follow him in making revolution all our lives.

Last year, in order to implement Chairman Mao's great directives, "heightening vigilance and defending the mother country" and "preparing for war, preparing for natural disasters and doing everything for the people," we extensively distributed Chairman Mao's brilliant works as appropriate.

Before the distribution, we held all kinds of study classes and organized the broad masses of militiamen and commune members to study Chairman Mao's thinking of people's war and strongly condemn US imperialism and social-imperialism for their heinous crimes of invading our country. We carried out a profound education on Mao Tsetung thought among the broad masses, and in this way greatly strengthened their concept of war preparedness.

In the course of distributing Chairman Mao's works, communes, teams, factories, State organs and schools also carried out activities of recalling past hardships and thinking of present happiness, thus enabling the masses to deepen their sentiments for Mao Tsetung thought. Meetings on creative study and application of Mao Tsetung thought were held and experiences in study were exchanged. All this helped to bring about a new situation and a new level of the mass movement for the creative study and application of Mao Tsetung thought.

The revolution is continuing. The mass movement for creative study and application of Chairman Mao's works is developing in depth. The task of distributing Chairman Mao's works has grown in magnitude. We must prevent and overcome the idea of "enough has been done" for distribution work, make a still greater success of the publicity and distribution of Chairman Mao's works, and let Mao Tsetung thought be carried on generation after generation.

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